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The Advertising section of the Proceedings contains the following 13 papers: "Offering a Creative Track in the Advertising Major: A Case History" (Beth E. Barnes and Carla V. Lloyd); "Messages of Individualism in French, Spanish, and American Television Advertising" (Ronald E. Taylor and Joyce Wolburg); "Frequency Levels and Activity Level Portrayals of the Mature Market: A Content Analysis of Magazine Advertising" (Cecelia Baldwin and Girard Burke); "Campaign Up in Flames: Negative Advertising Backfires and Damages a Young Democrat" (Maggie Jones Patterson, Anitra Budd, and Kristin L. Veatch); "Developing Integrated Marketing Communications Message Delivery Strategies: Challenges and Opportunities Associated with the Brand Contact Concept" (Denise E. DeLorme and Glen J. Nowak); "Animation and Priming Effects in Online Advertising" (S. Shyam Sundar, George Otto, Lisa Pisciotta, and Karen Schlag); "Protecting the Children: A Comparative Analysis of French and American Advertising Self-Regulation" (Ronald E. Taylor and Anne Cunningham); "Applying Integrated Marketing Communications Strategy to Strategic Market Planning: Implications for the Role of Communications in Building and Maintaining Brand Equity" (Saravudh Anantachart); "An Investigation of Three Cultural Values in American Advertising: The Role of the Individual, the Depiction of Time, and the Configuration of Space" (Joyce M. Wolburg and Ronald E. Taylor); "Get Hooked on Collecting: A Qualitative Exploration of the Relationship between the Hallmark Brand and Hallmark Collectors" (Jan Slater); "Calvin Klein's 'Kiddie Porn' Campaign, What's the Fuss? A Q-Sort of Student Attitudes toward Objectionable Advertising" (Robert L. Gustafson and Johan C. Yssel); "A Study of the Underrepresentation of Women in Advertising Agency Creative Departments" (Larry Weisberg and Brett Robbs); and "Preparing Campaigns Students for Groupwork" (Fred Beard). Individual papers contain references. (CR)

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Offering a Creative Track in the Advertising Major:
A Case History

Submitted for consideration for
Teaching Standards
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Offering a Creative Track in the Advertising Major: A Case History

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Abstract

Many undergraduate advertising programs struggle with the question of how best to deal with students interested in a career on the creative side of the advertising industry, particularly since these students may have different curricular needs than students preparing for managerial careers. This paper describes an accredited undergraduate advertising program's experience in phasing in a two-track major, with different course requirements for creative and management students.

Offering a Creative Track in the Advertising Major: A Case History

Introduction

Most undergraduate advertising programs are concerned with turning out students who are advertising generalists. The curricula of these programs offer courses in the fundamentals of the major functional areas in advertising, generally structured with an introductory class followed by one course in each area: media, research, and creative. Such a curriculum may also include an advertising management course and/or a course in advertising campaign development.

This approach may in part reflect the realities of the advertising job market. Donnelley (1994) found that entry-level advertising jobs were concentrated in account management (45% of all jobs) and media planning/buying (42%), career areas for which generalist training is appropriate. However, a growing body of academic research and industry commentary suggests that the student interested in pursuing a career on the creative side of the advertising industry would benefit from a very different curriculum (Simko, 1992; Otnes, Spooner, & Triese, 1993; Otnes, Oviatt, & Triese, 1995; Robbs, 1996).

This paper details the efforts of one of the top ten undergraduate advertising programs in the country (Richards & Taylor, 1996) to introduce two tracks under an advertising umbrella: a management track and a creative track. The difficulties (and successes) encountered along the way speak to some of the challenges facing all undergraduate advertising programs.

How the Tracks Were Developed

The department conducted a comprehensive review of its undergraduate curriculum beginning in 1990. The department took this initiative for four specific reasons.

1. The advertising department faculty had been closely monitoring the many changes in the marketplace, especially the increased interest in integrated marketing communications, changes in technology, and budgetary shifts out of traditional advertising media into other persuasive communications.

2. Informal exit interviews with graduating seniors, showed a growing number of advertising majors wanting more copywriting courses.

3. A change in University administration resulted in a new mission statement for the university which placed more emphasis on teaching, with all colleges and schools being asked to become more "student-centered."

4. A new dean requested that all seven departments within the school undertake curriculum review.

The department's objective for this review was to identify a curriculum that would meet both student interests and advertising/marketing communications industry needs. To accomplish this goal, the department developed an intensive four-part process that included: two focus groups conducted with professionals from advertising agencies, direct marketing, public relations, sales promotion and advertising sales organizations; in-depth interviews with advertising agency media directors; in-depth interviews with Fallon McElligott personnel in Minneapolis; and curriculum profiles developed for 49 institutions offering undergraduate advertising course work.

The focus groups, depth interviews and curriculum profiles pointed to new curricular needs. Prior to the review, the department had been offering students a generalist program similar to that described above, with all majors taking the same courses that provided instruction in media, research and creative. The curriculum was revised to include two tracks of study: creative and management. This resulted in some courses being dropped, others modified and several new ones added.

Implementing the Two-Track Curriculum

To get the new curriculum up and running, the department had to abide by the school's four-step approval process for curricular change. After this was secured the department began to phase in the new curriculum beginning with the incoming freshmen class in 1993. The curricular changes brought about changes in the department faculty and classroom facilities. The department hired professionals with major market experience in copywriting to teach the three creative courses. The department also secured grants for a multimedia computer laboratory to house the new courses.

Prior to the curriculum review, only one creative course, Introduction to Copywriting, was offered on a regular basis. An advanced copywriting course was scheduled only when an appropriate visiting professor could be secured. With the new creative track, the department now offers students three creative courses: Introduction to Copywriting, Advanced Copywriting and Campaigns Writing. After taking an introductory advertising course and a class in writing advertising strategies and executions, students wanting more creative instruction enroll in Introduction to Copywriting. The purpose of this class is to teach students how to approach an advertising problem, develop a creative strategy, and then solve it with a well crafted advertisement. Students work on designing print ads in the class.

Having completed Intro to Copywriting, students move on to Advanced Copywriting. This class has been designed as a hands-on, intensive writing course that builds on the fundamentals taught in the introductory copywriting course. Students in this class develop one print advertising campaign per week. Students normally take this class in the first semester of their senior year. In their final semester, students pursuing the creative track enroll in Campaigns Writing, a studio course that is designed to help students put their final portfolios together. Students work individually and as part of teams in this class.

In comparison, students in the management track also begin with the introduction to advertising course and the class in writing advertising strategies and executions. They then take either the introduction to copywriting course or a basic public relations writing course (taught by the PR department), followed by a media course and an advertising research course. Students in both tracks come back together for the capstone course, advertising campaigns. And, all advertising majors are required to take a communications and society course, communications law for advertising and public relations, and a critical perspectives course.

As of the 1996-1997 academic year, half of our 225 undergraduates are pursuing the creative track.

Problems Implementing the Creative Track

In phasing in the new creative track, the department has faced some problems.

Administration problems. No restrictions were placed on enrollment in the creative track or its classes. As a result, the department has had to offer multiple sections of all three creative courses. (This is further complicated because students in the management track also take the intro to copywriting course.) Finding adjunct faculty to cover these courses in the relatively small market where the program is located has been difficult at times. The large numbers of creative track majors have burdened the full-time creative faculty members with additional advising and frequent, intense consultation with students in their classes.

Varied levels of student motivation in creative classes. Because students can choose which track they want to pursue, instructors have found that there is a wide range of talent, motivation, work ethic and initiative among students enrolled in their classes. This makes teaching the upper-division creative courses particularly challenging.

Faculty turnover. Copywriters, art directors and creative directors who took part in focus groups and depth interviews during the curriculum review stressed that the department hire seasoned professionals with a strong creative track record to teach the creative track courses. Hiring professionals fresh out of the field has brought a real-world vitality to our students and our creative track. Yet, it has also resulted in a substantial amount of our senior faculty's time being spent on mentoring these professionals to aid them in making the transition from the work world to the academy. The department has also found that these highly talented and seasoned professionals are actively recruited by both the industry and competing universities, which results in constant staffing problems.

Too few creative courses. The department has tried to stay within the 30-hour rule that any accredited mass communications department must abide by to maintain its accreditation. But, with our students competing against the graduates of the trade schools that are not accredited, and thus can have numerous creative courses to perfect student portfolios, the faculty fears that three creative courses is too few to do the job.

Student Evaluation of the Two Tracks

The 1996-97 academic year marked the first time that all students in the advertising major were on the new two-track curriculum. While advertising faculty members felt they had a sense of how the tracks were working from conversations with students during advising sessions and in classes, we wanted to assess the effectiveness of the new system in a more formal manner. Therefore, a questionnaire was developed and given to students enrolled in the upper-level courses in both tracks: Advertising Media, Advertising Research, Advanced Copywriting, Advertising Campaigns, and the Portfolio class. (Questionnaires were completed during class time in the media, research, and campaigns classes; students in the two creative classes received the questionnaire in class but were instructed to complete it after class time and return it to a faculty member's mailbox.) Forty-five management track students (28 graduating seniors and 16 juniors) and 26 creative track students (18 graduating seniors and 6 juniors) returned completed questionnaires.

The questionnaire introduction noted that "The Advertising faculty would like to know about your experiences in our major." Students were asked to think about course content and the structure of the curriculum in answering the questions, and not to focus on instructor-related issues.

(All instructors are required to conduct course evaluations for each class each semester.)

The questionnaire asked students which track they were in, whether that track was the one they had originally planned to pursue, if they would choose the same track if they were making the decision today, and how they selected their track. The purpose of this series of questions was to determine satisfaction with the two tracks, and to provide an indication as to whether the faculty were doing a good job of helping students choose a track.

The next series of questions assessed satisfaction with the courses in the curriculum, grouped into four areas: the foundation courses (principles and the first writing course), the main track courses (intro to copy, media, and research for management track students; intro to copy, advanced copy, and portfolio for creative students); the capstone campaigns course; and the required non-advertising courses in the curriculum (communications & society, graphics, communications law, and critical perspectives). In each case, students rated their level of satisfaction with the group of courses using a five-point "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied" scale. For the track courses and the campaigns course, students were also asked whether they felt the coursework was "helping you prepare for a career in advertising." The five-point scale used for these questions had endpoints of "yes, definitely" and "no, not at all."

Finally, students were asked what course(s) they would like added to their track. They also indicated whether they had participated in an internship, whether they had taken part in a study-abroad program, and whether they were a member of the Ad Club. The final question asked if they would recommend the advertising major to an incoming student.

The questionnaire was structured with many open-ended questions to give students an opportunity to voice their opinions. In particular, respondents were asked to provide an explanation if they indicated they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with any group of courses.

Choice of Track. Of the forty-five management students who completed the questionnaire, 73% indicated they had intended to pursue this track at the time they were admitted to the advertising major. Creative track students were even more strongly committed to their track, with 88% of the twenty-six respondents saying this was the track they had planned on from the start. (A number of the management students who had not initially planned on this track said they changed because of an experience in the introductory copy class. Sample comments: "I found that I just don't have the knack for copywriting." "I took a copywriting course and realized that I was much better at the selling aspect.")

A difference in level of satisfaction with the two tracks became clear in the answers to the question that asked if the student would select the same track today. While 91%

of the management track students said they would choose the same track, 27% of the creative track students would not make the same choice again. In explaining their answer, several noted that their decision would be different not because they were no longer interested in being a copywriter (though that was true in some cases), but because of dissatisfaction with the creative curriculum. One said, "I feel the advertising creative faculty is in a transition period, leaving the students with transition teaching. I don't feel I gained enough knowledge/experience to be competitive." Another worried that, "I'm passionate about creative but I guess I just don't feel prepared enough and confident enough that I could go out with a portfolio and find a job." And a third complained that "The instruction, creatively, has been weak, and too late in the major; I don't think I've learned enough to get a job."

Beyond the curriculum, another source of dissatisfaction may be the haphazard manner in which many students in both tracks indicated they selected their focus. Many of the management students described themselves as "not creative," or primarily business/management oriented, while creative track students were likely to characterize themselves as "not business oriented" or "creatively driven." However, most students admitted their choice was arbitrary. A creative track student confessed, "I was apathetic with respect to majors; it seemed like it would be fun." Another said, "I'm not really sure; I was just drawn to it." Management students were no more focused. One claimed to have chosen the track by "Default." Another said, "...it's a result of trial and error." Not all students were so unfocused; several mentioned discussions with advertising faculty members or experiences in particular classes as factors.

Course Satisfaction. Eighty percent of the management students said they were either very satisfied or satisfied with the foundation courses in the major compared with sixty-five percent of the creative students. Based on the open-ended comments, it appears that creative students were frustrated that these courses did not include more hands-on creative work. One respondent complained that the courses did not "prepare creatives in ways to think about advertising; it's all terminology which adds to strengthen understanding of advertising, but does not enhance creatives in needed degree."

When reflecting on the primary track courses, ninety-six percent of the management students were either very satisfied or satisfied compared to sixty-two percent of the creative students. Even more telling is the comparison between those indicating they were very satisfied: forty-nine percent of management students versus fifteen percent of creative students. Those creative track students who were dissatisfied with their courses (19% of the total) commented that they were upset by changes in faculty and teaching formats, and that they would have liked even more creative classes.

Students in both tracks felt that their primary track courses were helping to prepare them for careers, although the management students were again more positive than the creative students. Sixty-seven percent of the management students answered "yes, definitely" that the courses were useful for career preparation compared to thirty-one percent of the creative students. An additional twenty-nine percent of management students and forty-six percent of creative students felt these courses were "somewhat" useful.

Only seniors answered the question about the capstone campaigns course. Of the twenty-eight management track students who had taken or were taking campaigns, sixty-four percent were very satisfied with the course, twenty-nine percent were satisfied, and seven percent were neutral. Of the twenty creative track students who answered the question, forty percent were very satisfied, another forty percent were satisfied, ten percent were neutral, and ten percent were very dissatisfied. The reasons for dissatisfaction were very specific. One student complained "I'm stuck with people on management side who expect creatives to care about the class as much as they do." The other stated, "Creative is a minute part of it."

The breakdown of responses on the usefulness of the campaigns course in career preparation was similar. Seventy-nine percent of the management students answered "yes, definitely" to this question, compared with forty-five percent of the creative students. The remaining management students answered "yes, somewhat." Among the creative students, thirty-five percent answered "yes, somewhat," ten percent were "not really sure," and another ten percent answered "no, not really."

As far as the required non-advertising courses in the curriculum were concerned, seventy-six percent of all the management students (juniors and seniors) and seventy-three percent of the creative students reported being very satisfied or satisfied. Students in both tracks who were dissatisfied indicated they were most upset with either the communications and society course they took as freshmen or the critical perspectives course they took as upperclassmen. The complaints about the latter centered on a desire for an advertising-themed course in this area.

Course Wish List. In addition to a critical perspectives in advertising course, which was mentioned by students in both tracks, creative track students asked for more graphics courses, design courses, and production courses. "More" was definitely a theme with this group: "More creative classes. Three is not enough." "More intense, in-depth, graphics/illustration classes. How else will we learn how to put a good looking portfolio together?" "Another course that is similar to [the portfolio class]. We're doing in one semester what Ad Centers do in two years."

Management students' requests were more broadly based. Several suggested particular courses in marketing. Others recommended an advertising ethics course, public relations courses, and presentation courses. One student asked for an advanced course in either media or research.

Internships and Extra-curricular Activities. Sixty-five percent of creative track students and seventy-six percent of management track students have participated in internships. Thirty-one percent of creative students and forty-two percent of management students spent at least one semester in a study-abroad program. The newly reactivated Ad Club has attracted more management students than creative; thirty-one percent of the former group and fifteen percent of the latter are Club members.

Would You Recommend the Major? Not surprisingly, management students were far more likely to recommend the advertising major to an incoming student than were creative students. Only one of the forty-five management track students said they would not recommend the major, because "much of what is taught is taught in other majors (marketing) more in-depth." More representative were comments like these: "Yes, definitely. The ADV major provides us with a very solid background in almost all aspects of advertising and gives us many projects to add to our portfolio. Compared to majors from other schools going into the ad industry, we're much more prepared." "Yes, definitely. I feel that the advertising department contains some of the best and most knowledgeable and experienced professors in this school! They are very down-to-earth and teach the way an agency is run. I feel like I have a pretty good idea on what to expect and what is expected from me when I get into the 'Real World.' I feel I have a pretty strong foundation for advertising." "Yes, because I think the courses show you, as much as is possible in an academic setting, what the 'real world' will be like. Also, you see sides of both tracks, regardless of the one you're in."

Interestingly but not surprisingly, management track students are aware of the problems in the other track. One commented that they would recommend the major, but, "It depends what he/she really wants to do. The creative track is lacking; there aren't ad design courses. The management track seems very good and comprehensive." Another noted, "Although I love the management track, I hear that other students have a lot of problems with the creative track. They say it isn't very well-rounded (needs more structure, yet is too narrow), and they don't really like the faculty."

The creative track students were split on whether they would recommend their major. Sixty-two percent would, nineteen percent would not, and eleven percent were undecided. Sample comments from the negative group: "No, the creative staff is too traditional." "Not the creative track (too little learned too late)." "No, I feel that it is on a downward spiral because of a lack of experienced teaching staff and creative experts."

Those who would recommend the major offered a variety of opinions. Several singled out the creative faculty: "Yes, great experience and wonderful professors." "Yes, although I have expressed weaknesses in the creative track for my personal purposes, I think the program in general prepares its students well. I have also been impressed by the attention the faculty pays to students and the knowledge they have of the industry." "Yes. It works. It's real, the teachers are professionals, and they care! Others talked about their enjoyment of the courses: "Yes, because it is an excellent academic experience and it's fun." "Yes, I have had a lot of FUN in the creative track of advertising. I would definitely recommend it."

Next Steps: Curriculum Revision

Based on the survey results and on-going discussions among advertising faculty and school administrators, a revised creative track is scheduled for implementation beginning with the Class of 2002. The courses themselves will stay the same, but the character of the creative track is being altered significantly.

First, enrollment in the creative track will be limited to a total of forty students per year, twenty each at the junior and senior levels. Admission to the track will be based on a portfolio review at the end of the student's sophomore year, after completion of the introduction to copywriting class; students will go through a portfolio review after the advanced copywriting class as well to continue in the track. This change is due to two concerns: the limited number of jobs available in the creative area (Donnelley, 1994) and the previously-mentioned sense among the faculty that some of the students currently in the creative track lack the passion and commitment necessary for success in this aspect of the advertising field.

Reflecting the same point, students in the advertising master's degree program will no longer be permitted to take the advanced copywriting and portfolio classes beginning in the fall of 1998. Due to the nature of the master's program, most students come in with little or no background in advertising, and their presence in these classes has tended to take attention away from the serious creative student.

A third change is that students who know they wish to pursue the management track will no longer take the introduction to copywriting class. Instead, they will take a new writing class, Promotional Writing, which will be taught in a series of modules. Modules will focus on writing for sales promotion, direct marketing, public relations, and general business writing. While undecided students will still be permitted to take the introduction to copy class, the make-up of that class should become more focused on die-hard creatives, allowing the instructors to push harder sooner than is now possible.

Finally, preliminary discussions are underway with the administrators of the university's advertising design program, housed in the arts school. If negotiations are successful, our advertising majors in the creative track will be able to minor in design. As a quid pro quo, a limited number of design majors will be admitted to our advanced copy and portfolio classes, allowing the students to work in copywriter/art director teams.

Conclusion

What have we learned from this experience? Curriculum redesign, particularly radical redesign, is easier conceived than implemented. We believe that the changes outlined above will greatly strengthen the creative track. However, we will have to go through another period of implementation, one that will require pedagogical creativity on our part and careful monitoring. We anticipate two potential problem areas. First, we will need to make sure that students in the management track do not feel slighted. The advertising faculty does not view management as the fall-back track, and we do not want the students to feel this way either. Management students will also have a portfolio requirement. And, all students in the major will be required to attend a departmental symposium during their sophomore year where the two tracks will be discussed in detail.

The second possible problem area involves the faculty itself. Not everyone agrees on the need for a creative track; not everyone agrees on how the track is structured. And, just as creative-oriented and management-oriented students are different, so are the faculty who teach in the two tracks. In particular, careful coordination will be needed to insure that students receive a comprehensive introduction to the field in the foundation courses to help them in choosing a track. Similarly, it is essential that the campaigns capstone course be structured to educate both groups of students on the particular contribution of their track to the overall effort. We plan to repeat the student survey each year as a way to assess satisfaction and identify problems.

Finally, the experiences of the past several years have shown that faculty matter tremendously to the success of any curriculum. Of course, personalities are important, but, more than that, continuity is essential. We believe that part of the reason for the greater satisfaction among management track students is that the faculty teaching those courses are known entities. Two of the three management track faculty members have been at the university for over ten years; the third, while new to this program, has also been an advertising educator for more than ten years. All three receive consistently strong course evaluations.

Conversely, the creative track faculty members are all relatively new to the school and to teaching. The creative track seniors who responded to the questionnaire have witnessed upheaval in that program; two faculty members who taught creative courses left either during or after the 1995-96 academic year. (There was also little faculty stability in the creative area prior to this time; two previous creative hires with extensive agency experience stayed for only two years each.) The two people teaching the advanced and portfolio courses during 1996-97 both had considerable agency experience, but were unknown commodities in the students' eyes. This is especially problematic on the creative side, where so much of the evaluation is subjective (at least as compared to media planning and advertising research).

That is not to say that we would advocate sacrificing teaching excellence for continuity. Current plans call for both of the people who taught in the creative track during 1995-96 to remain in the classroom; however, we have hired an additional person to head up the track. As our past experience has shown, recruitment and retention of creative faculty is difficult. We feel fortunate to have found a person with extensive agency experience (on both the creative and management sides) and a commitment to teaching. We are hopeful that this cadre of creative faculty, supported by a revised, improved creative track curriculum, will get us to our goal of providing students in the advertising major with two equally strong curricular options.

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MESSAGES OF INDIVIDUALISM IN FRENCH, SPANISH, AND AMERICAN TELEVISION ADVERTISING

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Abstract

Individualism is a central value in French, Spanish, and American cultures. However, what it means to be an individual and how this is expressed varies among cultures. This study explores the ways that television advertising reflects individualism in French, Spanish, and American cultures and identifies six main advertising message strategies across the three cultures.

Introduction

Individualism is widely accepted as one of the core values in American culture (Lodge 1975; Hofstede 1991; Triandis 1989). Lodge defines it as the belief that "fulfillment lies in an essentially lonely struggle in what amounts to a wilderness where the fit survive -- and where, if you do not survive, you are somehow unfit" (p. 10). Like all values, individualism is thought to be pervasive and reflected in society's institutions as well as in its cultural products such as novels, films, television programs, popular music, and advertising. Yet, the pervasive, taken-for-granted nature of values can make them nearly invisible to the members of a given culture.

What constitutes "individualism" varies from culture to culture. As O'Sullivan et al (1994) note, "Individualism is rarely discussed in studies of communication, but its assumptions are implicit in a great variety of theorizing on the subject." The following study explicates the ways in which messages of individualism appear in French, Spanish, and American television advertising. The study begins with an overview of individualism in a historical context and proceeds to an interpretive analysis of advertising content. This study is not intended to be a census of all the ways in which advertisers make use of individualism nor to provide an exact count of the instances of individualism. Rather it is intended to explore, first of all, the depth and the variation of the portrayal of individualism as an ingrained value, to bring its use to a conscious level, and to make available for discussion the taken-for-granted nature of individualism that is interwoven with advertising messages.

An Overview of Individualism

This overview places individualism in a historical context and summarizes the work of major social scientists who have studied individualism as a cultural value.

Individualism In Historical Context. During medieval times the concept of individualism had no place in the fixed social hierarchy. Through the 15th century, medieval social philosophy was wholly dominated by St. Augustine's explanation that God had assigned each person a fixed place in the community (Nisbet 1973). Each person was equated with his place in this hierarchy, and any separation from the social roles assigned by God, society, and family was unthinkable (Baumeister 1987).

The early modern era (16th to 18th century) marked increased social mobility and the cessation of the fixed social hierarchy. The blacksmith's son, for example, was no longer tied to the moral duty to become a blacksmith himself (MacIntyre 1981). Conceptions of individuality began to be articulated, and the basic unit in society began to shift from the community to the individual. For the first time it was conceivable that the individual's interests could be in conflict with those of society.

John Locke became England's most prominent spokesman for the religious, political, and economic freedoms of man. According to Locke, all men were inherently good, were endowed with inalienable rights by god, and were of equal privilege in the pursuit of rank. Each man shaped his own destiny through personal efforts.

Locke's political philosophy evolved differently in various countries. In England, Locke's ideas were augmented by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, and today Britons care far less than Americans about competition than the productive effort to serve the country's needs as defined by government (Lodge).

In France, Locke's notions of individualism that emerged in the 17th century were overtaken by Rousseau's 18th century idea of the General Will, which he defined as the collection of the individual wills of the people.

Locke's ideas came to greater fruition in the United States during the fight for independence. The Declaration of Independence states, for example,

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

Through the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment, the U.S. Constitution provides federal and state assurances that individuals will be protected against unjust acts of government that would deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

The French political philosopher, Alexis de Tocqueville, coined the word "individualism" in De la Democratie en Amerique, which described his experiences and observations of the American people of the 1830s (Miller). According to de Tocqueville

> Individualism is a calm and considered feeling which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows and withdraw into the circle of family and friends; with this little society formed to his taste, he gladly leaves the greater society to look after itself.

Tocqueville further wrote that as individualism grows

> there are more and more people who though neither rich nor powerful enough to have much hold over others, have gained or kept enough wealth and enough understanding to look after their own needs. Such folk owe no man anything and hardly expect anything from anybody. They form the habit of thinking of themselves in isolation and imagine that their whole destiny is in their hands (Bellah, p. 37).

In Spain Miguel de Cervantes introduced in 1605 one of the premises of individualism in Don Quixote. A central idea in Cervantes' book is that "each man is the child of his deeds," which privileges virtue over birth. This was in direct opposition to the belief among the Spanish aristocracy that inherited nobility determined one's identity (Mariscal 1991, p. 154). Because Cervantes work was highly controversial, it was not until the 19th century that it gained a large measure of acceptance in Spain.

How Social Scientists See Individualism. The polar opposite of individualism is collectivism, a view that holds that the unit of survival lies in the group, not in the individual. The relative presence of individualism and collectivism within various cultures has been discussed by many researchers across disciplines that study relationships. Social psychologist Harry Triandis (1985) suggests that individualism/collectivism is perhaps the most important dimension of cultural differences in social behavior across the diverse cultures of the world.

The Dutch social scientist, Geert Hofstede, has researched the many ways in which individualism and collectivism affect family life, occupations, education, and relationships in the workplace. For example, he notes that in most collectivist societies the family consists of many people living closely together -- not just the parents and other children, but grandparents, uncles, aunts, and servants. This "extended family" is the only secure protection one has against the hardships of life. One is loyal to this group over a lifetime, and breaking this loyalty is one of the most severe offenses a person can commit.

While single parent families are commonplace, individualist families typically consist of two parents, the child, and possibly other children, but other relatives live elsewhere and are not seen often. This "nuclear family" teaches the child to be independent, and children are expected to leave the parental home as soon as they can stand on their own feet. In these societies, once children are independent, they reduce their relationships with the parents.

Hofstede also distinguished among cultures on the basis of communication from "high-context" to "low-context," a dimension originally described by anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1976). High-context communication is typical of collectivist cultures and requires little information to be spoken or written because most of the message is either in the physical environment or within the person. Very little is in the coded, explicit part of the message. In contrast, individualist cultures typically use low-context communication, which gives most of the information explicitly. The United States and Japan are often cited as examples of low-context and high-context, respectively. American contracts, for example, are typically lengthy with details precisely described, while Japanese contracts are very short and inexplicit. The Japanese also place more confidence in verbal agreements than in legal contracts, while Americans place higher confidence in legal contracts than verbal agreements.

These differences in family, communication, education, occupations, and the workplace are summarized in Table 1, and a more detailed list of characteristics of individualist cultures is provided in Appendix A.

TABLE 1
Hofstede's Key Differences Between Collectivist and Individualist Societies

Collectivist	Individualist
People are born into extended families or other ingroups which continue to protect them in exchange for loyalty.	Everyone grows up to look after him/herself and his/her immediate (nuclear) family only.
Identity is based in the social network to which one belongs.	Identity is based in the individual.
Children learn to think in terms of 'we.'	Children learn to think in terms of 'I.'
Harmony should always be maintained and direct confrontations avoided.	Speaking one's mind is a characteristic of an honest person.
High-context communication.	Low-context communication.
Trespassing [infractions of rules] leads to shame and loss of face for self and group.	Trespassing [infractions of rules] leads to guilt and loss of self-respect.
Purpose of education is learning how to do.	Purpose of education is learning how to learn.
Diplomas provide entry to higher status groups.	Diplomas increase economic worth and/or self-respect.
Employer--employee relationship is perceived in moral terms, like a family link.	Employer -- employee relationship is a contract supposed to be based on mutual advantage.
Hiring and promotion decisions take employees' ingroup into account.	Hiring and promotion decisions are supposed to be based on skills and rules only.
Management is management of groups.	Management is management of individuals.
Relationship prevails over task.	Task prevails over relationship.

Hofstede 1991, p. 67.

Hofstede notes that affluent countries are statistically very likely to favor individualism over collectivism because as the wealth increases in a country, people have resources that allow personal expression.

> The storyteller in the village market is replaced by TV sets, first one per village, but soon more. In wealthy Western family homes every family member may have his or her own TV set. The caravan through the desert is replaced by a number of buses, and these by a larger number of motor cars, until each adult family member drives a different car. The village hut in which the entire family lives and sleeps together is replaced by a house with a number of private rooms. Collective life is replaced by individual life (p. 76).

The Dutch social scientist, Fons Trompenaars (1993), observes that within collectivist societies decision-making uses sustained efforts to achieve consensus. Collectivist societies intuitively refrain from voting because this shows disrespect to the individuals who are against the majority decision. He sees consensus seeking as a time-consuming approach but one that usually allows the decision to be implemented smoothly and efficiently.

Individualistic societies usually handle dissention by a majority vote -- a practice that leads to a quick decision that is often difficult to implement. Companies sometimes come to realize that the organization has conspired to defeat decisions that managers never liked or agreed to.

Advertising and Culture

As a cultural product, advertising plays different roles within different cultures, according to the expectations that the culture has for it. Hall and Hall (1990), for example, have noted that the role of advertising in the United States is to hype the product, the role of advertising in Germany is to provide information about the product, and the role of advertising in France is to evoke a response from the viewer. In addition, the amount of money spent on advertising, what is advertised, and where advertising appears is subject to the regulatory mechanisms within each culture. The United States is the worldwide leader in advertising expenditures, accounting for more than half of worldwide expenditures. In 1992 advertisers spent $129.2 billion on advertising and 23% of all advertising dollars were allocated to television. Television is available in 98% of homes.

In France advertisers spent $11.6 billion on advertising and 28% of all advertising dollars were spent in television. Television is available in 97% of French homes. In Spain advertisers spent

$6 billion on advertising and 68% of total advertising expenditures were allocated to television. Television is available in 99% of Spanish homes (Leo Burnett Co. 1994).

Advertising and The Study of Cultural Values. While many advertising studies have provided a content analysis of ads, very few have specifically addressed cultural values. More popular research topics have been the portrayal of gender roles and the use of different advertising appeals across cultures. A review of the leading advertising and marketing journals from 1980-1993 produced only 14 content analysis studies that enumerated values either cross culturally or within one culture. Eleven of the studies addressed multiple values; two focused on "inner-directedness versus other-directedness" which is similar but not identical to individualism/collectivism (Zinkhan and Shermohamad 1986; Zinkhan, Hong, and Lawson 1990); and one focused on "time" as a cultural value (Gross and Sheth 1989). The number of values coded in the 11 multiple-value studies ranged from as many as 42 (Pollay 1983) to as few as four (Frith and Wesson 1991), which demonstrates the differing ways that advertising research has conceptualized and measured the core American values in advertising.

Advertising is a cultural product intended to persuade an audience. Advertising messages are intended to influence behavior by creating a desire for a product that will ultimately lead to purchase behavior, or by influencing public opinion to generate votes for a political candidate. In other instances, advertising is used to create favorable attitudes toward companies to enhance their image, which ultimately may increase sales.

In order for these persuasive messages to be effective, advertisers "appeal" to human needs such as security, love, attractiveness, status, convenience, and self-fulfillment. Textbooks of creative advertising list as many as 24 appeal strategies plus 11 different kinds of emotional appeals including excitement, fear, pleasure, poignancy, and pride (Moriarty 1991). These appeals are closely linked to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which proceeds from lower to higher as follows: physiological, safety and security, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization (Maslow 1970). While American advertising uses appeals that are clearly related to these needs, Hofstede notes that Maslow's hierarchy reflects Western thinking. The goal of self-actualization or realizing the creative potential within the individual "can only be the supreme motivation in an individualistic society" (p. 73). In a collectivist culture, the interest of the group will be actualized, and the accomplishment of this goal may require self-effacement from many members.

One of the ways that messages of individualism are carried to consumers is through the advertising practice of writing to the individual. Standard American textbooks frequently teach writers to imagine they are writing to just one person. Nelson (1989) recommends the following:

> Although what you write is reproduced for multiple readership, write as if for a single reader. Attempt to maintain through mass communication the illusion of a salesman-to-buyer relationship. Your writing should be informal, conversational, and where appropriate, intimate. A logical way of developing a one-reader feel in copy is by writing in second person. The word you is deservedly commonplace in advertising copy (p. 152).

Advertising giant David Ogilvy also instructs copywriters to address the consumer as an individual. Ogilvy says

> When people read your copy, they are alone. Pretend you are writing each of them a letter on behalf of your client. One human being to another: second person singular (1985, p. 80).

Not only are advertising appeals meaningful to members of a culture because they tap into basic needs, but because the creative execution of the ads is able to place the appeal within a context that reflects the culture. An ad for a cosmetic product targeted toward women may appeal to the need for attractiveness, but the background cues such as the presence of admiring men provide rich cultural material that may deliver powerful messages of individualism and other core cultural values. These cues are meaningful when considering that the way men and women interact and form relationships differs in collectivist and individualist cultures. For example, people in Western cultures choose friends or mates based on attraction, personality, and personal preferences unlike some collectivist cultures that arrange marriages between people based on other needs.

Although the incidental, background details within an ad may seem insignificant, "a well-crafted message, presented against a backdrop of props that 'make sense' and reinforce the intended meaning, can convey a powerful and persuasive image...The impact of the best-intentioned message may be eroded if viewers' expectations regarding the appropriate context are violated" (Solomon and Greenberg 1993, p. 11).

Individualism in France, the United States, and Spain. In a study of individualism in the workplace in 40 countries Hofstede (1984) placed the United States, France, and Spain in the upper half. The United States ranked at the top of the list with an individualism score of 91, France ranked 11th with a score of 71, and Spain ranked 20th with a score of 51. At the bottom of the list were Pakistan, Colombia, and Venezuela. While individualism is usually associated with low context cultures such as the United States, France is a culture that is high in individualism and is also high context.

The Study

Sample Commercials. A total of 211 commercials--68 French, 62 Spanish, and 81 American--were analyzed for messages of individualism. The French and Spanish commercials were obtained from London International Advertising Awards (1993). The commercials are not necessarily award-winning. However, since the commercials were submitted by the agencies themselves, they are thought to represent the best creative work of French and Spanish agencies. Commercial length ranged from ten to sixty seconds and the majority of commercials were thirty seconds. The 81 American commercials analyzed for this study appeared on the tapes Advertising Age, The Best TV Commercials of 1991 and Advertising Age's Best TV Commercials of 1992.

Unit of Analysis. "Main message element" was selected as the unit of analysis. Main message element was defined as the "intended overall impression to be gained from viewing the commercial." It was deduced by asking after viewing the commercial "What will happen if I buy and use the advertised product?"

Code Development. Using Hofstede's key differences in collectivist and individualist societies displayed in Table 1, an initial set of codes was developed to answer the question "What will happen if I buy and use the product?" Possible answers included, among many others: I can take better care of myself or my family, I will become more "me," my children will become more independent, I will learn how to learn, I will gain self-respect, I will win a promotion or increase my skill level, I will be better or more efficient at accomplishing my tasks, I will be more attractive, I will be healthier. In addition, informal interviews were conducted among French and Spanish natives and they were asked how individualism might be expressed in their culture. Responses included, among others, automobile driving habits, speech patterns, choice of reading material, and leisure activities. Viewing a sample of commercials with the informants added the message elements of "I will have a moment of pleasure, I will gain knowledge, I will enjoy life, I will be smarter."

Analytical Framework. Following the path of analytic induction, we asked two questions for each commercial: (1) Does the commercial carry a message of individualism?, and, if so, (2) What is the message of individualism? Analytical induction (Glaser and Strauss 1967) involves viewing the commercials for message elements, developing a working scheme after examination, then modifying and refining the scheme on the basis of subsequent cases (Goetz and LeCompte 1984). Commercials that do not fit the initial scheme are sought to expand, adapt, or restrict the original set of message elements.

The set of commercials was viewed numerous times in order to refine the message elements. Tentative codes were developed, and later dismissed or subsumed under other codes. For example, the healthy and attractive codes were merged; and separate codings for different types of self-esteem were merged. The two coders agreed upon the presence/absence of individualism in all messages analyzed.

Each commercial was coded into only one main message element. After repeated viewings, 15 main message elements were identified:

(1) Take better care of myself/my family
(2) Become more "me"
(3) Gain self-respect
(4) Learn how to learn
(5) Make children more independent
(6) Win a promotion or increase skill level
(7) Work more efficiently
(8) Save money
(9) Become more attractive/healthier
(10)Gain knowledge
(11)Improve mental skills
(12)Have a moment of pleasure
(13)Have fun/enjoy life/
(13)Become seductive/be seduced/be romantic
(15)Perform at a certain, though not necessarily optimal, level

Commercials that demonstrated how a product worked, its function, or its applications without reference to individuals were not coded as having messages of individualism. For example, a French commercial that personified Bacardi Rum and Coca-Cola in a relationship but showed no people in the ad was coded as having no message of individualism. The complete analytical process is shown in Exhibit 1.

Observation 1: Advertising promotes the value of individualism across cultures.

Table 2 shows the percentage of commercials for each culture that carried messages of individualism. Surprisingly, the rank order of individualism is exactly the opposite of

Table 2
Percent Composition of Messages of Individualism

Country	# Commercials Analyzed	Number (and %) with message
France	**68**	**56 (82%)**
Spain	**62**	**58 (95%)**
United States	**81**	**61 (75%)**

Exhibit 1
Stages of the Analytical Process

Stage 1. Using literature review and native informants, develop a tentative list of message elements of individualism. Interview French and Spanish native informants regarding expressions of individualism within their respective cultures. View a sample of commercials with native informants. Refine list of message elements. **15 such elements were identified**.

Stage 2. Analyze each commercial for a dominant message element of individualism by asking "What will happen if I buy and use the product?" **Of the 211 commercials, 175 contained messages of individualism.**

Stage 3. Compute the percentage of messages of individualism within each culture and note the variations.

Stage 4. Collapse the message elements into main message strategies of individualism. Six main message strategies were identified. Note the variation across cultures by main message strategy.

Stage 5. Assign the 175 commercials to product categories, making the categories as equitable as possible across cultures. Analyze the relationship between message strategy and product category.

Stage 6. Further assign the 175 commercials to product categories by culture. Analyze the relationship between message strategy and product category across cultures.

Hofstede's finding regarding the level of individualism in each country. That is, Spanish television advertising carried a higher percentage of messages of individualism that either France or the United States, and France ranked above the United States in this study.

The fifteen message elements were collapsed into six better-defined main message strategies, which produced a typology of "The Efficient Individual," "The Sensual Individual," "The Attractive/Healthy Individual," , "The Esteemed Individual, "The Individual *Performant(e)*", and "The Intellectual Individual." The make-up of these message strategies and examples in each culture are discussed next.

Observation 2. Across the three cultures advertising uses six main messages of individualism: The Efficient Individual, the Sensual Individual, the Attractive Individual, the Esteemed Individual, the *Performant(e)* Individual, and the Intellectual Individual. The type of individualism varies considerably across cultures.

Table 3 shows the distribution of type of individualism by country. In France there is almost equal appeal to messages of efficiency and sensuality. Being attractive and healthy is the main appeal to individualism in Spain, and in the United States appeals to efficiency clearly dominate.

Table 3
Distribution of Main Message Of Individualism by Country
In Percentages

	Type of Individualism					
Country	Efficient	Sensual	Attractive/ Healthy	Esteemed	Performant	Intellectual
France	39%	38%	01%	04%	16%	01%
Spain	18%	16%	27%	06%	05%	21%
U.S.	43%	20%	11%	16%	08%	02%

The Efficient Individual. The Efficient Individual is made up of the message elements of "children more independent," "learn how to learn," "win a promotion or increase skill level," "save money," and "become more efficient." In an individualist society, tasks and task completion prevail over relationships. Certain products promise to make people more efficient in their work and household tasks, or to "save" time or money. More than 40 percent of the American messages of individualism were directed to being efficient and 39 percent of the French messages of individualism were so directed. Only 18 percent of the Spanish messages of individualism were directed to efficiency.

In an American commercial for Nissan Altima, a man places 10 wine glasses stacked in a pyramid on the hood of the automobile. The car is started and the speedometer reaches 100 mph. Two voice-overs explain that while the viewer may have seen a demonstration like this one for a luxury car, this demonstration is for a $13,000 car. The commercial concludes with "It's time to expect more from a car."

A French commercial for Alfapac garbage bags combines efficiency with humor. We see an elegantly-dressed woman in a black evening dress and elbow-length black gloves. She draws closed the ties on the garbage bag as a female voice-over notes that the Alfapac new line of plastic bags with sliding straps is so resistant, so light, and so practical that everyone will want to snatch it. She walks down steps outside her house to the sidewalk and two men on a motorcycle race by and snatch the bag from her hands. She half-heartedly yells, "Thief!" as the two ride away. The two thieves open the bag only to discover trash and toss it upon a pile of other Alfapac bags, supposedly filled with garbage. The voice-over tells us that the new bag is "more bag" than "trash."

A Spanish commercial takes advantage of stereotypes about crime and individuality in the United States to show three people being photographed front and side at a police station. The voice-over says

> Salvatore Borcellino robbed 36 banks in 14 states. Little Jack O'Brien hit the Pittsburgh mail train nine times. Mildred Peterson made off with three pizzas, only paid for two of them. But now anybody can get three pizzas and only pay for two, and it's legal.

Three pizzas on a table comprise the ending shot.

The high percentage of efficiency messages directed to American and French consumers seems to indicate that advertisers in these two cultures operate with a view of individualism that is different from the view of Spanish advertisers.

The Sensual Individual. The Sensual Individual is made up of the message elements of "have a moment of pleasure," "have fun/enjoy life," and "become seductive/romantic." Sensuality plays a bigger role in French advertising than it does in either Spanish or American advertising; however, it is present in all three cultures. Thirty-eight percent of the messages of individualism in French commercials were directed to the Sensual Individual. In the United States the Sensual Individual accounted for 20 percent of the messages of individualism, and in Spain it comprised 16 percent of the messages of individualism.

A French commercial for St. Yorre mineral water shows individuals engaged in a variety of physical activities such as running, playing tennis, and bicycling. A voice-over tells us that the mineral water craves for us, it thirsts for our strength, our energy, and our taste.

An American commercial for Blossom Hill wine demonstrates through a series of visuals and tongue-in-cheek voiceovers that wine is preferable to flowers as a gift for men to give to women. At the commercial's closing, wine is poured, a woman caresses her cheek with glass of wine, and thinks of the man who gave her the wine.

A Spanish commercial for Limon Kas soft drinks shows an attractive, young man and woman on a stage as they sing "The night is young... young with Lemon Kas... with Lemon Kas, young is the night. The night is young with Kas." Viewers see a series of night scenes including bright city lights, people dancing, and other people out on the street. The overall impression is the pleasure within the sophisticated night life of the city.

Sensuality and romanticism are integral parts of French culture and are often grouped under the advertising strategy of *la sèduction*, (Taylor, Hoy and Haley, forthcoming), which translates as "enticing, charming, alluring." It represents the idea that products can seduce consumers. In American and Spanish advertising, sensuality is more commonly expressed along the lines of "moment of pleasurable taste," or "having fun."

The Attractive/Healthy Individual. The attractive/healthy individual message strategy is made up of the messages of elements of "become more attractive," and "become healthier." This was the most often used strategy in the sample of Spanish commercials. Spanish advertisers' appeals to the Attractive/Healthy Individual accounted for 27 percent of the messages of individualism. In the United States, appeals to the Attractive/Healthy Individual accounted for 11 percent of the messages and in France such appeals accounted for only 01 percent of the messages.

In a Spanish commercial for Carbonel Virgin Olive Oil, a male voice-over tells the viewer while images of the Virgin Mary appear on screen:

> The blessed virgin of perpetual help sheltered us from the winds
> The blessed virgin of the sorrows brought us rain
> The blessed virgin of hope kept the frost away
> The blessed virgin of the rosary watched over the harvest
> The blessed virgin of the wayside protected the farmers
> Carbonel Virgin Olive Oil protects your health.

A French commercial for Lactel milk is set around the breakfast table with father, mother, a son, and two daughters. As the children reject their father's explanation that boys are born in cabbage patches and girls in rose gardens, a voice-over tells us that because Lactel milk contains vitamins it is ideal for growth and development.

In an American commercial for Verilux bifocals the branded no-line bifocals are presented as the "perfect disguise" for "those who refuse to be seen in bifocals."

The Esteemed Individual. The esteemed individual is one who feels better about himself/herself psychologically or emotionally because of the use of certain products. The Esteemed Individual strategy is made up of the elements of "become more me," and "gain self-respect." This message of individualism accounted for 16 percent of American messages of individualism, six percent of Spanish messages, and four percent of French messages.

An American McDonald's commercial titled "Perfect Season," features scenes of elementary school-age children participating in football games. Their fathers are coaches and two fathers form a goal post. The commercial includes this voiceover: "So McDonald's would like to salute the players, the coaches, and the families who helped to make this season the perfect season." A player asks: "Can we go to McDonald's now, Coach?" The coach replies, " After the game, Lenny. It's only half time. Go sit down."

In a French commercial for Scottex bathroom tissue, a young boy is riding his bicycle in the country when he discovers an abandoned baby bird. He takes the bird home, and creates a nest of tissue in a shoebox. The tagline tells the viewer the product is "soft like you."

In a Spanish commercial for Red Cross volunteers, a crowd of people is walking away from the viewers so that we see only their backs. A voice-over asks, "How many people have it in them to help others without receiving something in return?" As one man turns as though he volunteers, the words "Red Cross Volunteers.3006565. Call Us" is superimposed on the screen.

Self-esteem through product purchase and use is not a heavily used appeal in any of the three cultures. However, it is much more associated with American advertising than with either French or Spanish advertising.

The *Performant(e)* Individual. The *Performant(e)* Individual strategy is made up of the messages elements of "it works" or "it works wells." The efficiency message of "it works better than something else" or "it works quicker" is not a part of this message strategy. This strategy eschews comparisons that might be made in the messages of individual efficiency. This message strategy reflects the self-effacing characteristics of individuals. It differs from the Esteemed Individual strategy in that the individual does not feel better for having something that works or performs. The message elements and the strategy category came from suggestions made by our French and Spanish native informants about how individualism is expressed in those cultures.

This strategy accounts for 16 percent of French messages of individualism, eight percent of American messages, and five percent of Spanish commercials.

In a French commercial for Stihl chainsaws, we see a man on vacation in a beach house. The view out his window is partially blocked by an overhanging tree limb. He walks out of the screen and we hear the sound of a chain saw starting and running. The man returns to sit in his chair. An exterior shot shows us his beach house is elevated by stilts and we see his house fall to the beach level, giving him an unobstructed view of the ocean. The overall impression we gain is that the product works for whatever purpose we may have.

In a Spanish commercial for Iber Caja bank, a young literature teacher, dressed in black leather jacket and short skirt waits for someone in the street. She dismisses a man who tries to pick her up. The another man, whom she is presumably waiting for, comes by and they walk together. The voice-over tells us, "At Iber Caja we know that with time you can attain everything you aim for. That's why we help you from the very beginning. Iber Caja. Your future is also our future."

In an American commercial for American National Bank visuals show a man who owns a business of selling buttons. He tells the viewer how important his business is for paying for his and his workers' food, clothes, houses, and their children's education. A voice-over asks, "It's your life's work. Does your bank understand that?"

This appeal to individualism would appear to run counter to classic American advertising strategies such as unique selling proposition as practiced by Rosser Reeves, preemption as advocated by Claude Hopkins, and brand personality and differentiation as suggested by David Ogilvy. Its use indicates that individuals can be self-effacing, even in highly individualistic cultures.

The Intellectual Individual. The Intellectual Individual is made up of the message elements of "gain knowledge" and "improve mental skills." It accounts for 21 percent of Spanish messages of individualism, only two percent of American messages, and only one percent of French messages.

A Spanish commercial for a fairy tale book associates the Big Bad Wolf with Saddam Hussein, the Little Toy Soldier with Gen. Schwartzkoff, the Happy Prince with Prince Charles, and Little Red Riding Hood with Margaret Thatcher. A voice-over asks, "If these are the tales your children are dreaming about, aren't they missing something very important. Let them discover the Universal Tales of Orbis--the real tales."

A French commercial uses a futuristic urban setting for a Sega video game. A villainous man by-passes building security to enter into a video game. He becomes part of the game and is destroyed. We learn that he is really a robot. The closing line challenges us to play the game that has a "stronger mind than we do."

An American commercial for Time magazine promotes an issue of the magazine that features a cover story on abortion. The final voice-over states, " Why Roe versus Wade is moot. If it's important to you, you'll find it in Time."

The variation of the findings in this category are probably more a reflection of regulation and media choices than they are true expressions of differences in individualism in the three cultures. The French are among the most prolific book buyers and readers in the world; however, because books can not be advertised on television, the French messages directed to the Intellectual Individual are to be found in media other than television.

Observation 3: Messages of individualism reflect cultural patterns more so than they do product categories. All commercials were classified into six product categories: food/beverage (29%), business/financial/media (17%), household (07%), personal care (11%), automobile/transportation (09%), and other (27%). Examples of products classified as "other" included a lottery, a public relief agency, and department stores. An attempt was made to aggregate products into comparable categories across cultures, and the product category percent composition for any of the three cultures is no more than six percentage points from the percent composition for the total sample. However, it should be noted that regulation does affect the analysis. For example, of the 38 commercials classified in the business/financial/media category, 10 are French commercials, 14 are American commercials, and 14 are Spanish commercials. However, France does not permit the advertising of books or movies on television whereas Spanish and American television systems do. Four of the Spanish commercials in this category were for media products that could not be advertised on television in France. The product category composition for French commercials is comparable to what would be broadcast in France (cp. to Zandpour, Chang and Catalano 1992), and the composition for American commercials is comparable to the top 25 network television advertisers for 1994 (Television Bureau of Advertising, 1994). Table 4 shows the product category composition across the three cultures.

Table 4
Product Category Composition Across Three Cultures
In Percentages

	Culture			
Product Category	Total Sample	French	Spanish	American
Food/Beverages	29%	35%	26%	25%
Business/Media/Financial	17%	18%	22%	23%
Household	07%	14%	12%	03%
Personal Care	11%	17%	12%	05%
Automobile/ Transportation	09%	11%	07%	12%
Other	27%	05%	21%	32%

When message of individualism is cross-tabbed with product category without regard to culture, several relationships can be noted. Food and beverages most often use appeals to the Sensual Individual; both the business/media/financial category and the household products category most often use appeals directed to the Efficient Individual; personal care products appeal almost equally to the Sensual Individual and the Attractive/Healthy Individual; automobiles and transporation appeal most often to the Efficient Individual. However, only two of these patterns are true for all three cultures individually

Table 5 shows the distribution of main message of individualism across product category for the three combined cultures. First, messages of efficiency dominate the household products category in all three cultures. Second, food and beverage commercials are designed to appeal to individual sensuality.

One pattern holds true for two of the three cultures. In both the United States and France appeals to The Efficient Individual are most often associated with business and financial institutions. Beyond these three patterns, there is considerable variation.

Table 5
Main Message of Individualism Across Product Category
In Percentages (N=165)

	Type of Individualism					
Product Category	Efficient	Sensual	Attractive/ Healthy	Esteemed	Performant	Intel- lectual
Food/Beverages	04%* 14%**	16% 55%	06% 20%	01% 04%	02% 06%	-- --
Business/Media/ Financial	12% 69%	-- --	-- --	-- 03%	03% 17%	02% 10%
Household	07% 69%	-- 6%	-- 6%	-- 13%	-- 06%	-- --
Personal Care	02% 21%	05% 42%	04% 37%	-- --	-- --	-- --
Automobile/ Transportation	05% 47%	03% 29%	-- --	01% 12%	-- 12%	-- --
Other	05% 24%	01% 05%	04% 11%	05% 13%	10% 26%	02% 05%

* Percent of Total
** Row Percent (Product Category)

Discussion and Implications

Limitations. The results of this study are based on samples drawn from exemplars of television advertising in French, Spanish, and American cultures. Exemplars are appropriate for a study whose purpose is to identify and develop cultural categories. Even though the product category compositions for the French commercials and the American commercials are comparable to other known and studied samples, this does not necessarily mean that the main message strategies would appear in the same distribution patterns reported here. This study uses only television commercials; if other media had been included, then additional message strategies might have been identified. Given the restrictions placed on advertising in various cultures, a sampling of advertisements from all available media is necessary to develop a complete typology of individualism in a particular culture. By studying what appears in advertising this study makes no claim about how individualism manifests itself in other institutions within culture. Those types of individualism may be slightly different from the kinds reported here.

Contributions of this study. This study contributes to the body of knowledge about advertising in three ways: method, findings, and suggested avenues for future research.

Method. This study introduces the concept of individualism into the advertising literature and demonstrates an alternative to standard content analyses for examining advertising and drawing comparisons across cultures. Content analyses have been the predominant mode for American academic investigations of advertising in other cultures. One fault with content analysis studies is that they have imposed American-generated concepts to categorize and characterize other cultures' advertising. By following the approach of analytical induction, this study avoids the weakness of content analysis and allows concepts relevant to each of three cultures to emerge and be used in the analysis.

Implications of findings. The issue of whether to adopt a standardized product line and a standardized communications program for all cultures or to adopt individual strategies for each culture is a basic decision every management team must make within the multinational corporation.

Generally, those managers who advocate a standardized approach believe that people of diverse cultures share basic needs and motivations that can be reached universally through a single approach. Standardized strategies also offer unity of brand image and economy of advertising development. On the other hand, some managers argue that even if products are not culturally-bound, the advertising for such products typically is.

Ironically, advice from the academic research community is often diametrically opposed. Some researchers have suggested that food and fashion products will best lend themselves to standardized approaches (Domzal and Kernan 1993); other researchers have suggested that food is the product least amenable to standardization (Moriarty and Duncan 1990), while still others have suggested that the difference may lie between durables and nondurables (Cutler and Javalgi 1992). To add even more fuel to the fire, this study suggests that at least for French, Spanish and American cultures household goods and food and beverages would be most amenable to a standardized approach. However, the more important finding is that culture supersedes product category.

This study suggests that French and American advertising are more similar than Spanish advertising. This finding is surprising considering that France and Spain are both high context cultures and lower in individualism than the United States.

The finding that Spanish television advertising carries a higher percentage of messages of individualism than either French or American television advertising may be due to the sample studied or could suggest that advertising as a cultural phenomenon is somehow different from other institutions that reflect individualism. Another characteristic of advertising, which is suggested by this study, is that it does not reflect fully all the facets of individualism in a given culture. Some types of individualism such as automobile driving habits may not lend themselves to main message strategies. On the other hand, certain types of individualism such as The Religious Individual or The Thrifty Individual may not appear in advertising because they do not encourage product purchase.

Future research. This study demonstrates that six types of individualism are sufficient for analyzing messages of individualism in the three cultures under study. Future research in this area

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could begin with the identified six types of individualism and inductively extend this analysis to other cultures. For example, it would helpful to know by how many the main messages of individualism would increase if other countries high in individualism such as Australia, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, Switzerland, Germany, South Africa, and Norway, were added to the study. Similarly, adding additional media categories to the existing study would be helpful.

In contrast, the examination and analysis of the dominant values intertwined with advertising in countries with low levels of individualism such as Venezuela, Colombia, Pakistan, Peru, Taiwan would help to illuminate even more the results reported here.

Another extension of this research would add contextual analysis. Contextual cues such as gender, race, ethnic group, age, occupation, portrayal of nuclear family, and camera techniques, which also carry messages of individualism, may be as important as main message strategy. In fact, contextual cues may be the key to understanding different advertising executions in high and low context cultures.

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APPENDIX A
Hofstede's Characteristics of Individualistic Cultures

Family Life	Education	Work	Ideas and Philosophy
1. Children grow up in nuclear families 2. Children learn to spend time alone unlike collectivist children who are almost never alone 3. Child rearing sets independence as a goal 4. Speaking one's mind is a virtue and is characteristic of a sincere and honest person 5. Confrontation is believed to lead to a higher truth 6. Adults should have learned to take direct feedback constructively 7. Coping with conflict is a normal part of living 8. Children are expected and encouraged to develop opinions of their own, and children who never voice opinions are thought to have a weak character 9. Children are encouraged to take small jobs in order to earn pocket money of their own, which they alone can decide how to spend 10. There is a lack of both financial and ritual obligations to the family. Baptisms, marriages, and funerals are not as compulsory as in collectivist cultures 11. Verbal communication (social conversations) are compulsory. Silence is considered abnormal 12. Communication is explicit and not self evident (low context communication) 13. Self respect is the closest counterpart to the collectivistic concept of face 14. Self respect is defined from the point of view of the individual, not the social environment 15. Children break with parents or keep relationships to a minimum 16. People look after themselves and immediate family	1. Children are encouraged to speak up in class and express their own opinion without consulting the group or working in groups 2. Two-way communication between teacher and student is encouraged 3. Students expect to be treated impartially 4. Students from different ethnic groups mix more freely and do not expect preferential treatment 5. Teachers who favored same ethnic background students would be considered guilty of nepotism and immoral behavior 6. Students form groups on an ad hoc basis according to the task or to particular friendships and skills 7. The purpose of education is independence 8. Learning creates a positive attitude toward new situations 9. People must learn to cope with new, unknown, unforseen situations that will arise through life 10. Diplomas improve the holder's economic worth but also his or her self respect because it provides a sense of achievement	1. Work should be organized so self-interest and employer's interest coincide 2. Workers are economic men--people with a combination of economic and psychological needs 3. Family relationships at work are considered undesirable because they may lead to nepotism or conflict of interest 4. The relationship between employer and employee is primarily conceived as a business transaction between buyers and sellers on a labor market 5. Poor performance on the part of the employee or a better pay offer from another employer are legitimate and socially accepted reasons for terminating a work relationship 6. Management of individuals is valued 7. Subordinates can be moved around individually 8. Bonuses are given according to individual performance 9. Formal appraisal interview communicate "bad news" directly to employees without going through subtle, face saving tactics 10. Universalism (treating everybody alike) is more ethical than particularism (treating one's friends better than others) 11. The task prevails over personal relationships, and such things as trust are not required to be developed prior to conducting business 12. Important goals on the job are: 1. Personal time--having a job which leaves you sufficient time for your personal or family life 2. Freedom--having considerable freedom to adopt your own approach to the job 3. Challenge--having challenging work to do--work from which you can achieve a personal sense of accomplishment	1. Individual interests prevail over collective interests 2. Everyone has a right to privacy 3. Laws and rights are supposed to be the same for all 4. Economy is based on individual interests 5. Individualistic cultures are wealthier--higher GNP 6. Restrained role of government in the economic system 7. Political power is exercised by voters 8. Freedom of press rather than state control 9. Ideologies of individual freedom prevail over ideologies of equality 10. Self actualization by every individual is the ultimate goal 11. According to Maslow's hierarchy, realizing to the fullest possible extent the creative potential present within the individual is the supreme motivation (Hofstede 1991, pp. 49-78)

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Frequency Levels and Activity Level Portrayals of the Mature Market: A Content Analysis of Magazine Advertising

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Frequency Levels and Activity Level Portrayals of the Mature Market: A Content Analysis of Magazine Advertising

Abstract

Social gerontology theories, semiotic theory related to advertising, activity studies in gerontology, and research of the mature market in advertising provided the framework for this study of the frequency of the mature market and of activity level portrayals of the mature market in national, high circulation magazines. The hypothesis that no increase in activity level would occur in the fifteen year time period was examined and upheld, as independent *t*-tests showed no significant change in activity level between 1980 and 1995.

Frequency Levels and Activity Level Portrayals of the Mature Market: A Content Analysis of Magazine Advertising

During the 1980s, (Kart, 1985, Nussbaum, Thompson and Robinson,1989, Dychtwald,1989, Gantz, Gartenberg, & Rainbow, 1980) researchers asserted that there was a need to increase the accuracy and frequency of the portrayal of the mature market. Nevertheless, there have not been recent follow-up studies in advertising research to see if their assertions were being followed. This is the first study to compare the changes in the portrayal of activity levels of the mature market in magazine advertisements. In spite of earlier calls by researchers to increase activity levels the hypothesis that no increase in activity level would occur in the fifteen year time period was examined and upheld, as independent *t*-tests showed no significant change in activity level between the two time periods, 1980 and 1995.

Social gerontology theories, semiotic theory related to advertising, activity studies in gerontology, research of the mature market in advertising, and the relationship between advertising and product consumption provided the framework for this study of the frequency of the mature market in advertising and of activity level portrayals of the mature market in national, high circulation magazines. In this study as with most previous studies the mature market is defined as those persons who are over 55 years of age.

This study also addresses the psychological implications of the inaccurate portrayal of the mature market person in advertising. Inaccurate advertising portrayals of mature market persons accentuates misconceptions during a period where changes in the activity levels need to be recognized by individuals, media practitioners, and society.

Literature Review

Population

Overall, the 50-plus age group will grow 74% while the group younger than 50 will increase only 1% during the next 25 years (Tschudy, 1994). This suggests that we are experiencing a transformation in the profile of our population (Milliman & Erffmeyer, 1990).

Three key causal forces have accounted for this major change in demographics. One, Americans are living longer. Two, the birth dearth--the fertility rate is declining. But most significantly, the Baby-boomers are aging. As a result, there will be boom in people over 55 years of age (Dychtwald, 1989; Sperry, 1992), and sociologists predict that Baby-boomers will redefine old age just as they redefined every other age group they have experienced (Tschudy, 1994).

The current generation of mature market people in the United States is more numerous, healthier, better educated, and more affluent than in the past, and this trend will continue (Dychtwald, 1989). In fact, when the Baby-boomers, the 76 million persons born between 1946 and 1964, who began turning 50 in 1996, will be even better educated, more affluent and healthier than any generation in the history of America. Of significance to advertisers is the fact that combined incomes of mature market persons are more than $800 billion with its members controlling 70% of the total net worth of all Americans (Stoeger, 1994). Furthermore, over half of all discretionary spending power is accounted for by those over 50 years of age (Linden, 1985).

Advertising and the Mature Market

During this current time of social transformation, when the population is aging and demographics are changing, it is important to recognize how the mature market is being portrayed in advertising.

The gerontologist, Kart (1985), contended that myths and stereotypes of the mature market persons are transmitted through the mass media, and Atchley (1994), confirmed that some people learn what to think about aging from their exposure to advertising and media portrayals. For example, in a landmark study of the portrayal of the mature market in magazine advertisements by Nussbaum, Thompson and Robinson (1989), the researchers concluded that stereotypical attitudes can and do impact the quality of life for mature market persons and others, and that advertising may be a significant factor in the creation and maintenance of such attitudes.

From activity level studies of the mature market (Palmore, 1968; Palmore, Nowlin & Wang, 1985; Atchley, 1994), it was concluded that decreases in activities are determined more by poor health and poor socioeconomic conditions than by aging. Advertising studies have demonstrated that although the frequency and portrayals of the mature market in some instances have slightly increased (Davis & Davis, 1985), the overall portrayals of the mature market are inconsistent and inaccurate (Nussbuam et al., 1989; Kvasnicka, Beymer, & Perloff, 1982; Gantz, Gartenberg, & Rainbow, 1980). Gerontology activity level studies have confirmed that activity levels of the mature market are relatively similar to other age groups, and they will continue to increase throughout time (Atchley, 1994; Palmore, 1981).

Gantz et al. (1980) discovered that the mature market was poorly represented in popular magazine advertisements: Only 6% of all advertisements contained mature market persons. The researchers (Gantz et al., 1980) pointed out that in comparison with the size of the mature market people in the U.S. population, they were under–represented in magazine advertisements. For example, in all ads analyzed, there were a total of 17,838 people, of whom only 551 were mature market persons. With the exclusion of borderline cases, 1 in 30 people in magazine advertisements were mature market people (Gantz et al., 1980). In terms of the numerical composition of the group in the advertisements, advertisements with mature market persons contained nearly twice as many non–mature market persons (Gantz et al., 1980).

Advertising transfers meanings through messages, and this contributes to activity level involvement among mature market persons (Atchley, 1994). The social communication of advertising offers messages that symbolically link people as representatives of social structures and processes (Pease, 1985). Social scientists have employed semiotic theory to discern the values and beliefs that are widely shared among the public (Pease, 1985). For example, both Pease (1985) and Leiss et al. (1986) have studied the implicit and explicit social statements present in advertising. Leiss et al. (1986) concluded that the advertising message contains two levels of meaning: the explicit surface message and the implicit message below the surface.

Semiotic theory is utilized to explain how individual roles and identities are partly determined through the transference of meaning through the advertising of products. Eventually, the labels persons ascribe and receive about the mature market may result in both positive and negative self-fulfilling prophecies (Cox, 1993; Kuypers and Bengtson, 1973).

Relationship to Gerontology Theory

As the Baby-boom population moves into the mature market segment of our population, what advertising messages and images are they, and others, receiving about the lifestyles and activities of the mature market? How might it relate to gerontology theories of disengagement, activity and continuity? Accurate portrayal of the mature market in magazine advertising might encourage activity and continuity for those who might have otherwise subscribed to societal disengagement. As Dychtwald (1989) pointed out, advertising can play a role in improving society's perceptions of the mature market person, and consequently, this may improve their images of themselves.

Disengagement Theory

Cumming and Henry (1961) stated that aging involves an inevitable withdrawal, or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction with those in the aging person's social milieu, and this might be initiated by the social system or the individual (Cox, 1993). Furthermore, role losses, specifically major life roles, are the key problems for people as they age. Eventually, people of the mature market experience diminished interaction and withdrawal from previous activities (Cox, 1993). Several researchers and social scientists were so irritated by the basic claims of disengagement theory that they have spent enormous efforts refuting its underlying principles (Ferraro, 1990).

Activity Theory

Activity theory opposes disengagement theory. Havighurst (1963) asserted that normal aging is an action theory for successful aging. It is based on three premises: one, that the majority of normally aging people will maintain a fairly constant level of activity; two, that the amount of engagement or disengagement will be influenced by socioeconomic factors and past lifestyles; and three, substantial levels of social, physical, and mental activity must be maintained if the aging experience is to be successful. Conclusively, the concept of activity theory involves maintaining as long as possible the activities and attitudes of middle age.

In essence, the implication drawn from activity theory is that one will substitute new activities and roles for those which one is forced to give up during the aging process (Cox, 1993; Atchley, 1994). Cockerham (1991) reiterated Havighurst's (1963) claim that activity theory is based on the concept that middle–age norms of activity constitute the standards by which people are judged, and that there is a positive relationship between activity and life satisfaction.

Continuity Theory

In continuity theory, decisions regarding which role to maintain and which to discard are determined by the individual (Cox, 1993). This theory is based on the continuity of behavior patterns through various life phases (Cox, 1993) whereby the mature market person strives to maintain desired roles and activities in the social system for as long as possible (McCrae & Costa, 1984).

The founders of this theory (Neugarten, Havighurst, & Tobin, 1961) postulated that each individual's personality determines successful aging, and that this is dependent upon the individual's ability to maintain consistency (Nussbaum, Thompson & Robinson, 1989). Atchley (1994) noted several studies relating continuity to activities (Kunkel, 1989; Atchley, 1993; Kelly & Westcott, 1991).

Advertising's role is that of a vehicle of communication that works to sell through persuasion and imagery (Pease, 1985), and the relationship between advertising and how perceptions reveal meaning in one's life is described through semiotic theory. From a semiotic perspective, meaning is dependent on the way signs are organized internally in an advertisement and on the relationship of the advertisement to the person's external belief systems (Williamson, 1978). In a comprehensive study of magazine advertisements by Nussbaum et al. (1989), the researchers concluded from their analysis of advertising portrayals of the mature market that "stereotypical attitudes can and do impact the quality of life for the elderly and others, and the mass media may be a significant factor, in the creation and maintenance of such attitudes" (p. 63). Accurate portrayal of the evolving nature of the mature market in magazine advertising might encourage activity and continuity for those who might have otherwise subscribed to societal disengagement. As Dychtwald (1989) pointed out, advertising can play a role in improving society's perceptions of the mature market person, and consequently, this may improve their images of themselves.

Methods

This study was a content analysis of advertising portrayals of activity levels of the mature segment in seven national magazines: *Newsweek, Time, People, Family Circle, Fortune, Better Homes and Gardens, and Esquire.* Additionally, this study, for the time period 1980-1995, provides concrete, measurable information that can be utilized to gauge any progress the advertising industry has made during this rapidly changing period of transition.

Although the literature provides evidence that small increases in the portrayals of the mature market in magazine advertisements have occurred in specialized magazines (Kvasnicka, Beymer, & Perloff, 1982), there has not been an account of any evidence to support the data that measures whether the increases in activity levels have increased by the mature market in national magazine advertising over the last 15 years. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine how the activity levels of the mature market have been portrayed in advertising in national, high circulation, magazines from 1980 to 1995.

In spite of gerontologist proclaiming the need for continued higher levels of activity and the impending entrance of an active baby-boomer population into the mature market, the hypothesis that there will be no significant change in activity levels between the two time periods has been tested. Frequency of portrayal of the mature market and frequency of gender portrayal has also be examined.

The following research questions have been examined:

1. Have national, high circulation magazine advertisements shown changes in the activity level portrayal of the mature market during the last 15 years?

2. What is the percentage of mature market persons in magazine advertisements compared to the total number of people in all advertisements?

3. What is the gender ratio of the mature market in magazine advertisements?

4. Has there been an increase or decrease in the amount of mature market people in magazine advertisements during the last 15 years?

5. Have there been changes in the frequency and distribution patterns (trends) in magazine advertisements of the mature market in specific types of activity levels over the 15 year time period?

6. What are the portrayals of the mature market in specific types of product/service

advertisements?

The time period examined, 1980–1995, was determined by the following: The year 1980, as the base, was highlighted by the Gantz et al. (1980) landmark study of the role portrayal of the mature market in national, general magazines; the 1980s as the period of heightened awareness of the mature market's growth. In 1986, Nussbuam and Robinson concluded their study of media portrayal of the mature market; and the early to mid 1990s, as the period where the large populous of Baby–boomers (born between the years 1946–1964) will begin to enter the mature market segment; and 1995, as the final year of the study.

This study focused on the average activity level portrayal of all mature market persons in all advertisements from the sample. The purpose of this research was not to solely account for the mere presence of mature market people in advertisements, but instead, the goal of this research was to analyze differences in portrayals of activity levels of the mature market. Therefore, when the coding was completed, an average activity level score for each advertisement was obtained. As a consequence, the results produced an average activity level composite for all members of the mature market.

In advertisements where there was only one mature market person depicted in more than one activity level, the coders averaged the two activity level scores to obtain the final activity level score.

The Selection of Magazines

Seven high circulation magazines were selected for study: *Newsweek*, *Time*, *People*, *Family Circle*, *Fortune*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, and *Esquire*. The amalgamation of all magazines in this study represents a moderately broad, diversified spectrum of genres that are of large mass circulation. Therefore, to determine the portrayal of the mature segment in advertisements in large circulation magazines, all specialized magazines targeted to both ends of the demographic spectrums of age, gender, and income were excluded from the content analysis. For example, specialized magazines with age–specific activity related editorial and advertising content such as *Modern Maturity*, *Fifty Plus*, *Retirement Life*, and *Retirement Living* were not analyzed because ads specifically targeted to the mature market segment would not be indicative of ads targeted to, and therefore influenced the perceptions of, the general population.

In summary, the magazines selected represent an overall balance of demographic circulation and readership percentages by gender, age, and income with the readers' median age of 40, and the median individual and household incomes ranging from $18,409 to $63,283.

The magazines selected for this study have been categorized into three groups which were determined by the frequency of the issue: weekly, biweekly, and monthly.

Weekly magazines. *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *People* are the weekly magazines in this study. One weekly issue within each month for each bimonthly period (occurring every two months) was randomly selected for a total of six issues per magazine for each yearly time period.

Biweekly magazines. The biweekly issues in this study are *Family Circle* and *Fortune* magazines. One biweekly issue within each bimonthly period (occurring every two months) was randomly selected for a total of six issues for each yearly time period.

Monthly magazines. Monthly issues of *Better Homes and Gardens* and *Esquire* have been analyzed. Application of the systematic random sample method determined the starting point of the year, and then, every other month (skip–interval) was examined throughout that one year period for a total of six issues per magazine per year.

Coding Levels and Categories

The framework for the development of the activity levels and product/service categories was an amalgamation of studies originated by Gantz et al. (1980), Kline and Leiss (1978), Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), and Greco (1988).

Activity Levels

Background. The coding protocol that was sought to identify the activity levels of the mature market was developed from the study of activities in magazine advertisements by Kline and Leiss (1978).

Levels of activity. The continuous flow of activity levels necessitated an activity level range of 1–5, and subsequently, coding scores and ranges within each level were formulated to enhance the descriptive analysis for each level of activity. Definitions of specific activity level types that occur within each activity level have been provided for coding and interpretational clarity (Table 1).

Product/Service Categories

To display the frequency and percentage of advertisements containing those who are representative of the mature market by product/service category and specific product/service type, the author combined the product/service category definitions from the Gantz et al. (1980) study of the mature market, the Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) study on women, and the Greco (1988) study.

Definitions of the product/service categories and the specific product/service types have been ordered by similarities within a coding range of 1-6 (see Table 2).

Administration of the Pilot Test

The pilot test was conducted with the two coders individually coding an identical, randomly selected subsample of 13% (10%–25% sample recommended) of the content universe under consideration. For example, 13% of the issues from the magazines, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *People*, *Family Circle*, *Fortune*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, and *Esquire*, for the two time periods 1980 and 1995 was coded. Thereafter, the Scott's Pi formula was calculated for the purpose of testing intercoder reliability of the pilot test. Scott's Pi accounted for the occurrence of some coder agreement strictly because of chance, and it also corrected for the probable frequency of use and the number of categories used in the study (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994).

Results of the Pilot Test and Scott's Pi Formula

In summary, there was consistency in the levels of agreement among two independent coders who coded the same content using the same coding instrument (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). Intercoder reliability should reach at least 80% agreement for a study of this nature. Results of the Scott's Pi test proved an intercoder reliability of 93%. As a result, one coder for coding the population in this study was justified.

Statistical Analysis

An independent *t* -test was used to analyze the dependent variables as the differences of activity levels between the advertisements in the years 1980 and 1995, those advertisements being the independent variables. Additional observations examined the relationships between activity levels and product/service categories which were observed by percentages. The data results for frequency of portrayals of mature market persons in magazine advertising were examined by percentage comparisons.

Findings

The data results from the two time periods were obtained from a systematic random sample size of 84 magazines in which 609 mature market advertisements of all one–half page or larger were coded for a total of 1,253 mature market people (see Table 4 and Table 5 on page 68).

The seven magazines in this study represent a diverse, equally distributed, demographic readership. For example, all magazines have been grouped into sets that each have similar readership (i.e., men or women) with similarly equal percentages of advertisements (21% – 33%) for each time period, except *Fortune*, 1995. Therefore, the data results for activity levels, product/service categories, and percentages of the mature market by gender and frequencies are unbiased because demographic readership is evenly distributed for all magazines in 1980 and 1995.

The hypothesis that activity level would not change between 1980 and 1995 was upheld as the application of the independent *t-test* established showed no statistical significance of difference for the dependent activity level variables for 1980 and 1995 when run with a p value < .01. (See Table 3.)

The activity level range spectrum showed shifts in the number of advertisements portraying the activity level of the mature market, and the middle range activity levels (medium and high, respectively) remained stable. (See Table 4.)

Highlighted areas in Table 5 signify the specific activity level types that indicated the most prevalent number of changes in ad count from 1980 to 1995. Activities such as Rest and relaxation, Personal maintenance, Social—romance, and Social—family/friends exhibited substantial decreases in the frequency and percentages of mature market advertisements (–68%, –59%, –50%, and –39%, respectively). Conversely, educational advertisements were used for the first time in mature market advertisements (+100%), and overall, there was a slight upward shift in frequency and percentages in the very high activity level activities. Interestingly, advertisements depicting the mature market as disengaged and as ordinary and professional workers all remained relatively constant for both time periods. (See Table 5.)

Additional Observations

Product/Service Categories and Types

From 1980 to 1995, the most dramatic decreases in the number of advertisements involving the mature market occurred in product/service categories one (Household, Autos, and Communications) and two (Alcohol and Tobacco) (39% and 82%, respectively), whereas, product/service categories four (Health, Care, and Maintenance) and five (Sports, Travel, and Media) demonstrated increases in advertisements portraying the mature market by 52% and 38%, respectively. The frequency of advertisements for product/service categories three (Institutional and Monetary Affiliations) and six (Food, Beverage, and Others) remained about equal over the fifteen year period. (See Table 6.)

An interesting finding from Table 7 is the examination of advertisements in specific product/service types located within a product/service category may illuminate significant changes in the frequencies of the mature market in various product/service type advertisements, but those changes are potentially indiscernible if the data analysis is limited to the product/service category level.

The Institutional and Monetary Affiliations category exemplifies how the frequency of specific product/service type ads within a product/service category may became bipolar opposites over a fifteen year period, yet a general examination on the category level may confirm stability within the frequency of ads. For example, product/service types within the Institutional and Monetary Affiliations category such as Corporate image and Insurance advertisements confirm decreases of –48% and –40%, respectively; conversely, Education and Securities and credit advertisements exhibit increases of 93% and 71%, respectively. Yet, changes from 1980 to 1995 in frequency of advertisements in the Monetary and Institutional Affiliations category represents only a 6% increase (see Table 7).

The total number of ads with the mature market in product/service category types decreased (with amount of ads for 1980 and 1995 in parentheses) in Household goods and appliances (14/4), Auto and automotive products (29/9), and Travel (11/6). The largest decreases occurred in the Liquor and Smoking ads (40/2 and 16/7, respectively).

The most noticeable increases in the amount of ads with mature market persons occurred in the product/service category types of Drug and health care goods, Clothing and accessories, and Media attractions (17/26, 5/21, and 32/47, respectively).

Combined Activity Levels with Product/Service Categories

Table 8 displays changes in the activity level portrayal of the mature market within each product/service category from 1980 to 1995. Overall, the major shift in ad frequency for product/service advertisements occurred between the opposite ends of the activity level continuum; whereby, the very low activity level and the low activity level variables appeared less frequently as the very high activity level portrayal of the mature market increased within all categories except the category of Alcohol and Tobacco. The most prevalent decreases occurred in the medium activity level for product/service categories of Household, Autos, and Maintenance; Alcohol and Tobacco; Institutional and Monetary Affiliations; and Food, Beverages, and Others (22/10, 22/1, 51/37, and 21/10, respectively).

Conclusion

After many years of gerontologists and advertising researches calling for increase accuracy of activity level portrayals this study shows that portrayals of activity levels have not significantly changed in the past 15 years. This study has shown a decrease in the population numbers of mature market people being portrayed when numbers of mature market individuals have shown large growth. This study has shown an even further decrease in portrayals of women than men in the mature market.

In the results of the frequency the mature market constituted 23% of all people in ads in

1980 compared to 17% of all people in ads in 1995 (a 6% decrease over fifteen years). Furthermore, mature market women were 6% of all people in ads in 1980, whereas, by 1995, the representation of mature market women decreased by 2% to only 4% of all people in advertisements. The frequency of mature market men compared to all people in ads decreased by 4% by 1995 (17% to 13%, respectively).

This study discusses the need for accurate activity level portrayals of the mature market in advertising. Social gerontology theories have described how the mature market translates activities into adapted lifestyles and then establishes roles of identity in societies. The creation and maintenance of attitudes that impact the quality of life for the mature market may be linked to advertising (Nussbaum, Thompson, & Robinson, 1989). The gerontologist, Atchley (1994), confirmed that some mature market persons learn concepts about aging through their exposure to advertising.

This study also addresses the psychological implications of the inaccurate portrayal of the mature market person in advertising. Inaccurate advertising portrayals of mature market persons accentuates misconceptions during a period where dramatic changes in the activity levels needs to be recognized by individuals, media practitioners.

Several changes occurred in the frequency of advertisements portraying the specific activity level types of the mature market from 1980 to 1995. Some interesting trends were observed that might have future implications in the accuracy of the portrayal of the mature market in advertising. Within the five activity level ranges, the most noticeable decreases in the percentages of advertisements occurred in the specific activity types (percentage change in parentheses) of Rest and relaxation (–68%), Social—romance (–50%), Social—family/friends (–39%), Personal maintenance (–59%), Travel (–17%), and Housework—outdoor (–34%) in which all represent restful, leisurely activities. Conversely, almost all the high activity level types increased or remained equal. In addition, the activity level types of Work—ordinary and Work—professional were substantially maintained, especially in terms of raw ad count, and Educational ads were introduced. Lastly, Purchasing ads were increased by 67% in 1995.

Palmore (1985) and Atchley (1995) maintained that the two most important factors in determining life satisfaction for the mature market were monetary factors and social factors such as close proximity to family and friends. Yet, although today's mature market person is becoming healthier and more financially independent, they are also experiencing more divorce, smaller family sizes, and independent lifestyles.

Should advertising reflect a new socio–economically changing image of the mature market person. Perhaps the advertising portrayals of the mature market as a homogeneous and dependent group with countless hours for traveling, gardening, resting, and personal maintenance should be transforming into advertising portrayals of active, independent, individual persons capable of choosing from several lifestyles.

The importance of accurate representation of mature market people in advertisements becomes more apparent when it is considered that during the next 25 years, the 50–plus age group will grow 74% while the group younger than 50 will increase by only 1%. In a 1980 exploration of the portrayal of the mature market in national, high circulation magazine advertisements by Gantz et al. (1980), the researchers reported that in comparison to the size of the U.S. population, the mature market was under–represented in magazine advertisements. A three year follow–up study by Kvasnicka et al. (1982) had comparable results. In this study the concern is not only how the mature market is represented in sheer numbers compared to the population of U.S., but also with the portrayal of the mature market in relationship to the current demographic transformations of the mature market.

When the demographic factors, activity and lifestyle studies, and the population figures signal an exponentially increasing change of the mature market segment, and portrayal of the mature market shows decreased representation in national, high circulation magazines a call must be made to examination the phenomena further and to accurately portray the mature market.

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TABLE 1 Activity Levels

Level One: Very Low Activity
Disengagement and Inactivity:
Sleeping, indoor or outdoor, day or night.
At rest and relaxation.

Level Two: Low Activity
Attendance: such as Attendance of church services, etc.
Personal maintenance: make-up, showering, brushing teeth, hair parlor or barber.

Level Three: Medium Activity
Educational: attendance: at schools and universities, participation in adult education, arts and crafts classes.
Sports and entertainment:: watching at sports arenas, concerts, and spectating of parades, etc.. Active participation as a fan or audience member.
Social—romance: nonverbal close positioning, kissing, hugging, dining, dancing, ambiance, parties, and entertainment.
Social—family/friends: one or more persons engaged in talking, dining, and parties at all locations such as parks, organizations, and volunteer events.
Traveling: automobiles, airplanes, cruises, and tours. Purchasing and shopping malls, grocery stores, car lots, furniture and clothing stores. Four:

Four: High Activity
Work: volunteer work, baby-sitting and guardian care.
Housework—indoor: cooking, vacuuming, cleaning, and repairing.
Housework—outdoor: gardening, painting, cleaning, and car washing.
Work—ordinary: blue collar, desk clerk, mail person, farmer, and driver.
Work—professional: white collar, leadership, business, and teaching. Entertainers, athletes, and musicians, also, professionals such as lawyers and doctors.

Five: Very High Activity
Recreational: All variables listed below pertaining to competitive and regular sports, games.
Walking
Exercise.
Golf
Biking
Sports
Other Any highly physical not previously listed.

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TABLE 2 Product Categories

Category One: Household, Autos, and Communications

Category Two: Alcohol and Tobacco

Category Three: Institutions and Monetary Affiliations

Corporate Image

Category Four: Health,Care, and Maintenance

Drugs and health care goods, beauty aids and cosmetics, hair products, colognes, perfumes, make–up, blowdryers, hair curlers, hair dyes, and shavers are all examples of beauty aids.

Clothing

Infant care

Pet foods and products

Category Five: Sports,Travel, and Media

Recreation and sporting: also, resorts, hotels, motels, and pr

Cable television and network advertisements, promotions for tapes, compact disk games and music, videos, movies, concerts, books, and magazines.

Category Six: Food,Beverage, and Other

Food and non–alcohol

Table 3

Comparison of Statistical Scores for the Activity Levels of the Mature Market in Magazine Ads for 1980, 1995, and 1980/1995

	Statistical Scores						
Year	No. of Ads	*M*	*SD*	*SE*	*t*	*df*	*p* (2-tail)
1980/1995	609	3.17	1.01	.0575	-2.58	607	0.01
1980	335	3.07	0.99				
1995	274	3.28	1.02				

Table 4

Frequencies and Percentages of Magazine Ads for Five Levels of Activity Portrayals of the Mature Market for 1980 and 1995

	Year			
	1980		1995	
Activity Level:	No. of Ads	%	No. of Ads	%
Very low	29	9%	18	7%
Low	24	7%	11	4%
Medium	143	43%	112	41%
High	118	35%	102	37%
Very High	21	6%	31	11%
Total	335	100%	274	100%

Note: N = 609 ads

Table 5

Comparison of Changes in Magazine Ad Portrayal of the Activity Level Type of the Mature Market for 1980 and 1995

	Year			
	1980		1995	
Activity Level Types	No. of Ads	%	No. of Ads	%
Very low activity				
Disengagement	69	20.6%	67	24.5%
Sleeping	2	0.6%	3	1.1%
Rest and relaxation	41	12.2%	13	4.7%
Low activity				
Religion	1	0.3%		
Personal maintenance	17	5.1%	7	2.5%
Medium activity				
Educational			4	1.5%
Sports and entertainment spectating	1	0.3%	3	1.1%
Social--romance	14	4.2%	7	2.6%
Social--family/friends	61	18.2%	37	13.5%
Traveling	12	3.6%	10	3.6%
Purchasing and shopping	2	0.6%	6	2.2%
High activity				
Childcare--volunteer work			2	0.7%
Housework--indoor	3	0.9%	4	1.5%

Housework--outdoor	6	1.8%	4	1.5%
Work--ordinary	36	10.7%	30	11.0%
Work--professional	51	15.2%	50	18.2%
Very high activity				
Recreational and leisure	2	0.6%	2	0.7%
Walking	3	0.9%	5	1.8%
Golf			4	1.5%
Biking	2	0.6%	2	0.7%
Sports			1	0.4%
Other	12	3.6%	13	4.7%
Total	335	100%	274	100%

Note: N = 609 ads

Table 6

Frequencies and Percentages of Product Service Categories in Mature Market Magazine Ads for 1980, 1995, and 1980 1995

	Year					
	1980		1995		1980/1995	
Product/Service Category	No. of Ads	%	No. of Ads	%	No. of Ads	%
Household, Autos, and Comms.	61	18%	30	11%	91	15%
Alcohol/Tobacco	56	17%	9	3%	65	11%
Institutional and Monetary Affltn's	106	32%	99	36%	205	34%
Health, Care, and Maintenance	34	10%	56	21%	90	15%
Sports, Travel, and Media	44	13%	57	21%	101	16%
Food, Beverage, and Other	34	10%	23	8%	57	9%
Totals	335	100%	274	100%	609	100%

Table 7

Comparison of Changes in the Magazine Ad Portrayal of the Mature Market in Product/Service Category Types Between 1980 and 1995

	Year			
	1980		1995	
Product/Service Category Types	No. of Ads	%	No. of Ads	%
Household, Autos, and Communications				
Household goods and appliances	14	4.2%	4	1.5%
Outdoor maintenance and repair items	4	1.2%	1	0.4%
Autos and automotive products	29	8.7%	9	3.3%
Electronic and office equipment	14	4.2%	16	5.8%
Alcohol and Tobacco				
Liquor	40	12.0%	2	0.7%
Smoking	16	4.8%	7	2.6%
Institutional and Monetary Affiliations				
Corporate image	75	22.4%	39	14.2%
Securities and credit	10	3.0%	34	12.4%
Insurance	20	6.0%	12	4.4%
Education	1	0.2%	14	5.1%

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Health, Care, and Maintenance				
Drugs and health care goods	17	5.0%	26	9.5%
Beauty aids and cosmetics	5	1.5%	9	3.3%
Clothing and accessories	5	1.5%	21	7.7%
Infant care				
Pet foods and products	7	2.1%	0	0
Sports, Travel, and Media				
Recreation and sporting goods	1	0.2%	4	1.5%
Travel	11	3.3%	6	2.2%
Media attractions	32	9.5%	47	17.1%
Food, Beverage, and Other				
Food and non-alcohol beverages	31	9.3%	22	8.0%
Other	3	0.9%	1	0.3%
Totals	335	100%	274	100%

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Table 8

Changes Between Distribution of Product Service Category and Activity Level Magazine Ads of the Mature Market for 1980, 1995, and 1980 1995

	Product/Service Categories by Year													
	Household Autos & Comms.		Alcohol and Tobacco		Inst'ns. and Money		Health Care & Maint.		Sports Travel & Media		Food Beverage & Other		Totals by Year	
Activity Level	80	95	80	95	80	95	80	95	80	95	80	95	80	95
1. Very low	**6**	**1**	**9**	**0**	6	6	3	4	4	4	1	3	29	18
2. Low	1	1	**6**	**2**	5	3	**8**	**2**	2	1	2	2	**24**	**11**
3. Medium	**22**	**10**	**22**	**1**	**51**	**37**	**8**	**28**	19	26	**21**	**10**	**143**	**112**
4. High	**31**	**14**	**11**	**5**	36	42	11	13	19	21	10	7	118	102
5. Very high	1	4	**8**	**1**	8	11	**4**	**9**	**0**	**5**	0	1	21	31
Total	**61**	**30**	**56**	**9**	106	99	34	56	44	57	34	23	**335**	**274**

Note: N = 609 ads

Campaign Up In Flames:
Negative Advertising Backfires and Damages a Young Democrat

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Campaign Up In Flames:
Negative Advertising Backfires and Damages a Young Democrat

Abstract

Dan Cohen, Pittsburgh City Councilman, challenged 15-year-incumbent Congressman Bill Coyne in the spring 1996 Democratic primary election. After successfully fund-raising with a positive campaign based on economic development and a pledge to be a more aggressive voice for the district, Cohen hired a crew of Washington consultants who advised him to toss out his positive themes and instead attack the Congressman in a blistering series of television, radio, and direct mail advertisements. The negative campaign backfired, Cohen's support dwindled, and his own campaign treasurer publicly denounced him. The campaign serves as a case study here to examine how the rise of consultants and the diminishment of political parties have affected political advertising and whether the democratic process has been enhanced or hindered.

Campaign Up In Flames:
Negative Advertising Backfires and Damages a Young Democrat

Introduction

The 30-second video tape had just finished rolling when the shouting erupted. It was loud enough to startle Kathy Fitzgerald who was asleep after putting the children to bed two floor above it. Kathy's husband Rich, Dan Cohen, and several members of the Dan Cohen for Congress campaign had gathered around a television in the basement of the Fitzgeralds' large Pittsburgh home to watch one of the commercials that a national media consultant had produced for the spring 1996 primary election, just weeks away. It would air in three days.

"You should be ashamed," Fitzgerald (personal communication, 1996, Nov. 16) recalls bellowing at Cohen and his campaign manager Bill Peduto that night, accusing them of racism. He quit as campaign treasurer and communications director on the spot.

Others in the room were miffed at Fitzgerald. Cohen, who was challenging 15-year incumbent Bill Coyne for the right to represent Pennsylvania's 14th Congressional District, saw the ad as simply "anti-crime" (personal communication, 1997, Jan. 16). The fast-paced spot opens with close ups of marijuana and rocks of crack in white hands, a SWAT team swarming into a little bungalow, and then a police car moving down a wide, tree-lined street. In the commercial, Cohen says: "We're fighting for crime here everyday, but how can we win when Congressmen like Bill Coyne vote to lower sentences for crack dealers. . . ?" (Robinson, 1996, March 29)

"In no one's eye is that ad racist," Cohen still maintains indignantly. The only black person in the ad is a police officer, and the scenes are more suburban than inner city. Cohen, a liberal, protests that he's always defended racial equality, but he realizes this and other ads stirred tremendous controversy. The news media, which had paid scant attention to Cohen's positive campaign tactics, began lambasting him once the negative ads began.

After three weeks of fiery television ads, Cohen's nationally produced series of direct mail pieces began arriving in constituents' mailboxes during the week before the election. On the back, they read: "Paid for by Cohen for Congress, Rich Fitzgerald, Treasurer." No longer simply alienated from the candidate he had supported, the now furious Fitzgerald called the local news media just three days before the election, publicly denounced Cohen's tactics, and threw his support to Cohen's opponent, incumbent Congressman Bill Coyne (O'Toole, 1996, April 21).

Even before then, Dan Cohen's once-promising campaign was going up in flames. The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette's* editorial board called it "the political equivalent of a mad scientist's experiment" (Deibler, 1996, April 24). On Tuesday, April 23, 1996, he lost to Bill Coyne by more than a two-to-one margin.

Pittsburgh City Councilman Dan Cohen's political friends and foes agree on just two things: Cohen has the makings of a rising political star and his advertising campaign for Congress last spring was a disaster for his career. After that, the pundits part company. What last year's Democratic primary campaign means for this young Democrat's political future and what it says about political campaigning depend on whom consult.

Dan Cohen himself says he lost for three reasons: Pittsburgh's affection for Congressman Coyne, the negative advertising, and a 28 percent turnout on election day, the lowest in 40 years. Low turnouts generally favor incumbents, but they don't explain a walloping of 66 percent to 34 percent (47,334 to 24,364).

Cohen is young at 35, with clean-cut good looks, dark hair and a ready smile; he went to Yale as an undergraduate, Stanford law school, and then to work for one of Pittsburgh's top law firms before running for Council in 1989. Local press accounts consistently describe him as bright, amiable and articulate—adjectives rarely uttered in the same breath with Pittsburgh City Council, which is better known for its vociferous, circus-like debates. Many in Cohen's liberal Council district supported his congressional bid, not because they disliked Coyne, but because they found Cohen's campaign attractive. They liked his can-do spirit, his engaging sincerity, his good record of constituent service and liberal voting record on Council.

Kathryn Hens-Greco, Pittsburgh attorney, says (personal communication, 1997, Jan. 4) she was drawn to Cohen's campaign in reaction to Republican U.S. Sen. Rick Santorum's victory in the 1994 senatorial race over Democrat Harris Wofford. "I wanted a liberal voice in Washington who would garner the headlines with as much tenacity as Rick Santorum did," she said. Bill Coyne, she thought, was a "loyal, liberal representative but not an aggressive one or one who took an outward stand on liberal issues."

Now Cohen's damaged political career rests with District 8 voters who will either boot him out of Council Chambers or nominate him for a third term on May 20. His mistakes of last year are reprised this spring as his former ally, Rich Fitzgerald, is now challenging him for his Council seat. Pessimists say Cohen has burned too many bridges over Pittsburgh's backwater politics. Optimists contend Cohen has learned an important lesson.

But the story of Cohen's campaign is more than the tale of an up-and-coming politician setting himself afire with his own ambition. What happened to Cohen provides a case study in how modern political advertising works, as well as why this campaign backfired. It demonstrates how far slick and savvy consultants have moved into what was once the domain of local party regulars. They create a dog-eat-dog, all out fight to win, even in primaries, where strong parties once guarded against such civil wars, kept back stabbing off the television screens, and reserved it for the inner sanctum of their smoke-filled rooms.

Consultants' Conquest

The party system in Pittsburgh, like the party system nationally, is weak but not dead. At one time, the Democratic Party's endorsement here—like those in many older cities— would have blocked a Cohen from running for Congress and prevented the intra-party fight that hurt the young upstart much more than it damaged the incumbent.

Most local critics suggest Cohen had some chance to win—at first (Casey, 1997; Delano, 1997; Owen, 1997; Stroh, 1997). Congressman Coyne's support had slipped in recent years, since Pittsburgh's population drop led to redistricting in 1992 and the district spread beyond city limits to incorporate more conservative suburbs.

"I ran because I thought I could do a better job than Congressman Coyne," Cohen (1997) said. He raised funds readily, working with a local team of progressive and committed Pittsburghers who focused their efforts around positive issues: new initiatives for economic development, creative plans to improve the environment, as well as the promise to represent the district with a "strong voice" rather than a "passive vote."

And initially, early Cohen campaign workers say, he *was* running a positive, issues-oriented campaign. In a seven-point plan for economic development, Cohen promised to bring more federal funds to the area, attract businesses to the region, foster local entrepreneurism, develop tourism, coordinate the region's marketing efforts, improve labor-management relations, and develop worker training initiatives.

Cohen's plans attracted Fitzgerald, 37, an engineer who has run his own sales business for 14 years. He signed on early as campaign treasurer. "I've been very frustrated at our city's lack of economic development—jobs. We lose a lot young people when they get out of school," says Fitzgerald (1996), whose brothers and his cousins have left the region.

By fall 1995, Cohen's message was spreading and donations were pouring in at a pace that eventually led to a $450,000 cache, enough to indicate that this young challenger might have a chance (Fitzgerald, 1996). Cohen took the money and did what every young politico feels obliged to do (Dunham, personal communication, Feb. 5, 1996). He went to the bazaar where the biggest political consultants pedal their advice—Washington, D.C.—and hired a team of firms: The Sinsheimer Group, an oppositional research firm that began its work in the fall of 1995; a pollster, Lauer, Lalley, Victoria Inc.; a media consultant, MacWilliams Cosgrove Snider Smith Robinson (MCSSR); and a direct mail consultant, Ewing/Baughman.

"What I found is that the role of the consultant has seeped down into the lower level of politics—campaigns for the state house, even for city councils," said Jon Delano (personal communication, 1997, Jan. 26), who teaches the Carnegie Mellon University's Heinz School of Public Policy and Management.

A consultant has become a necessity to run a professional, successful campaign at all levels of government, according to the American Association of Political Consultants (1996), who have a financial interest in such self promotion. Although they have many critics, political consultants do provide much needed services for today's aspiring politicians. "Political consultants offer 'general' services, at a strategic and campaign management level, and 'specialist' services, including such diverse items as public opinion survey research, television and radio production and timebuying, print production and space purchase, telemarketing, direct mail, fund-raising, media relations, computer use, and a host of additional forms of expertise" (American Association of Political Consultants, 1996, p. 2). Television has made politics a faster, costlier business. Although broadcasters offer their best rates to political candidates, these media are expensive and require specialists whose skills go far beyond the abilities of most grassroots volunteers. "Technology created the present political consulting industry—with over 3,000 firms and 7,000 individual professionals" (Faucheux, 1996, p. 1).

On the other hand, campaign volunteers have a sense of the local political landscape that out-of-town consultants lack, points out consultant Dennis Casey (personal communication, 1997, Jan. 26), who thinks the gap between the Washington consultants and the Pittsburgh voters was a crucial fault in Cohen's failed campaign strategy.

Cohen's consultants began with opposition research in fall 1995 (Sinsheimer, 1995), followed by a survey of 402 likely Democratic voters in the district in January 1996 (Lauer et al., 1996). The survey found Bill Coyne's personal ratings high (87 percent recognition and 57 percent positive feelings). But Coyne's job rating (just 49 percent positive) was relatively weak. Dan Cohen's chief problems were relatively low recognition (69 percent) and his association with City Council, which received overwhelming negatives from the voters, prompting his advisers to recommend Cohen steer clear of running on his record.

Cohen's ads were accurate and based on Bill Coyne's own voting record, according to Will Robinson (personal communication, 1997, March 18), media consultant who produced Cohen's TV spots for MCSSR. Looking at them a year after the controversy, we had to admit they did not generate the heat that Cohen's critics saw in them in the context of the negative campaign. They attack Bill Coyne's record but not the person. The direct mail pieces, on the other hand, definitely do.

Nonetheless, Cohen took a hard hit for the TV spots, Robinson (1997) concedes, and he cites two reasons. First, this was a primary, not general, election. Democrats did not take well to this attack on one of their own. Robinson, who worked as deputy political director of the Dukakis campaign and was a key player in Virginia Gov. Doug Wilder's 1989 victory, said the consultants underestimated Coyne's popularity and the strength of the local Democratic organization. Second, Cohen appeared in his own ads, delivering much of the negative message while looking straight into the camera. The challenger is less vulnerable if he stays off camera or has someone else deliver his punch.

Ironically but not surprisingly, Cohen's poll (Lauer et al., 1996) found strong support among the voters for the issues on which he had launched his campaign, i.e. the need for jobs and economic development in Western Pennsylvania and for a stronger liberal voice against the Republican-led Congress. Voters were overwhelmingly concerned about jobs and economic development. And, the survey found, the district's Democrats reacted strongly against the conservative sway in Congress.

Nonetheless, in an interpretation that takes a leap of faith to follow, the consultants (Lauer et al., 1996) recommended that Cohen downplay these issues. One explanation was supplied by Patrick Stroh (personal communication, 1997, Feb. 4), director of strategic planning and targeting for BrabenderCox, a consulting firm in Pittsburgh and Washington that works only for Republicans like Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania for the U.S. Senate. Stroh said: Commonly consultants look at a combination of factors in trying to see how strongly voters feel about issues and how the challenger might position himself. Cohen's consultants moved him away from the concerns voters clearly considered most important and toward the ones they thought could help him win, such as crime and big spending (Lauer et al., 1996). These issues were popular and Congressman Coyne's voting record on them was not, media consultant Robinson (1997) argues, but "Coyne and the party had too much strength for the tactics to work."

To arrive at their recommendations, Cohen's pollsters used a relatively new—and controversial—technique called the "push poll." Push poll questions gauge the depth of voters' support, according to Pat Dunham (personal communication, 1997, Feb. 5) , chair of the political science department at Duquesne University. While push polls may have been used in 1992, Dunham says, they first came into public view in 1996. These polls push voters to see if they stick by their choices, as those choices are painted in an increasingly bad light. For example, pollsters said to Coyne supporters (Lauer et al., 1996, p. 4): "Coyne voted to reduce prison sentences for those convicted of possessing crack cocaine," then asked whether that description, "if it is accurate," raised doubts in voters' minds about their candidate. If an issue raises doubts it indicates where the incumbent is vulnerable. The results help the challenger pinpoint the issues that will give him the most bang for his advertising buck, Stroh explains.

"Push polls are the pornography of politics," says political consultant Dennis Casey (1997), who has represented 54 candidates and helped 47 of them to victory. A *pure* poll, Casey says, measures where the candidate is in relation to the opposition. A *push* poll is really "phone banking, where you are advocating for your candidate. Amateurs think it also gives you data. It doesn't give you good data. The respondents will be led by the pollster."

"They're garbage," analyst Jon Delano (1997) says of push polls. "Their purpose is to plant a lie." Or, at least ignore the context. Coyne, for example, voted to equalize the penalties for crack and cocaine possession. Backers of the measure had argued that the stiffer penalties for crack, commonly seen as a "black" drug, were racist.

As a result of the poll (Lauer et al., 1996), Cohen's advisers told him not to campaign on the claim that he would be a younger, stronger alternative to the Republican voices in Washington. Voters did not feel as strongly on that issue as they did on others. And they advised him to drop economic development and job creation as issues. Cohen's record was not strong enough nor Coyne's weak enough for good positioning. Besides, his pollsters said, "The bottom line on the jobs issue, which is showing up in the latest national polls, is that voters do not hold out much hope that politicians can do much to solve the economic problems facing the nation" (p. 19).

After the consultants began their work, Cohen (1997) admits, the campaign took a turn. His consultants unanimously pushed him to go negative. And he did. Their advice led Cohen (Lauer et al., 1996) to shift the campaign's focus and distinguish himself from Coyne by attacking the incumbent's liberal record and sounding a more conservative note. On their heels came the media blitz—TV and radio ads, direct mail, heating up in February and red hot by April. Cohen's ads tarred and feathered Coyne. Called him soft on crime, a tax-and-spend liberal, even implied he was gay , according to some interpretations. But the negatives didn't stick.

Instead, Cohen's support dropped as fast as an April thunderstorm. Supporters yanked out their lawn signs, some defiantly sticking them upside down among the tulips. The press, which had been ignoring Cohen's positive messages, now lambasted him (Deibler, 1996, April 16; O'Toole, 1996, April 20; O'Toole, 1996, April 21; Roddy, 1996, April 19). Both the public and the news media pay more attention to negative campaigning, one reason nearly half of all campaigns use it (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991, p. 3). In this case, however, the attention did not help the negative campaigner.

Bill Coyne's high approval ratings and Dan Cohen's low recognition on the poll were a danger signal for the "boomerang effect," says Republican consultant Patrick Stroh (1997). Any challenger who goes negative risks it backfiring "if the incumbent is well liked and/or the attacker is (a) not well known or (b) has high negatives himself," Stroh contends.

Dan Cohen's consultants had designed a standard advertising campaign against an incumbent—one that clawed at the incumbent's image and fed on his soft support. But Coyne's image proved too tough in a town where political insiders still call the 60-year-old Congressman "Billy." The attack did not penetrate hometown and party loyalty—and Cohen's bright promise burned up in a firestorm of acrimony.

Cohen (1997) now admits that his negative advertising campaign was a mistake. But the news media never made note that consultants had designed Cohen's negative ads. They heaped all the blame on the candidate himself.

Sabato (1989) argues that the news media and consultants have a symbiotic relationship. Each relies upon the other. This relationship leaves the public out of the loop and can make voters more cynical about the whole electoral process. The press rarely criticizes consultants or takes them to task for leading a candidate to defeat with bad advice. In fact, the media praise them as gods of the political wars; geniuses who elect candidates. Sabato (1989) speculates that consultants get the Teflon treatment because they are great sources (p. 16). In fact, DeVries (1989) claims, this admiration for consultants has gone so far that "candidates today are often judged by their stable of consultants. One takes a look at who has been retained by the candidate and, based on that judgment, makes a decision about the viability of that candidate's campaign" (p. 22).

Cohen's media blitz hit hard and hit negatively, beginning February 1 with an ad in the Jewish Chronicle headlined: "Coyne Votes Against Israel Aid" (Dan Cohen for

Congress, 1996). The counter attack by Bill Coyne's supporters might have been predicted. The Congressman's record as a long-time supporter of Israel was widely known in the Jewish community. Two weeks later, the Chronicle carried letters, including two from stalwart, mainline Democrats, County Coroner Cyril H. Wecht (1996) and former Pittsburgh Mayor Sophie Masloff (1996), wagging fingers of "shame" and "outrage" at Cohen. Cohen was already on the outs with this faction because he had supported independent Democrat Mike Dawida for County Commissioner over the incumbents and long-time party favorites, Tom Forester and Pete Flaherty, in the previous spring's primary.

Liane Ellison Norman, who had held two coffee socials at her Squirrel Hill home for Cohen, heard about the ad and told Cohen she would withdraw her support if he continued his negative campaigning. Two months later, Norman (1996) wrote again. "Now there is a whole blizzard of ads I find pretty disgusting," she told Cohen. "They are unworthy and degrade the electoral process." She called her friends who had attended the coffees and urged them to vote for Bill Coyne (Norman, personal communication, 1997, Jan. 5).

Apparently Pittsburghers were agreeing with Norman, not Cohen's spin doctors. But the campaign pressed on. TV ads punched at Coyne. They accused him of missing out on federal funding for jobs programs, of voting 14 times for his own payraises, of favoring lower sentences for drug users, and giving college loans to convicts.

Harder-hitting direct mail portrayed Coyne as a man on a "spree of unprecedented proportions. A rampage of killer dimensions. One look at Bill Coyne and you know for sure...you're looking in the face of a Natural Born Spender" (Ewing/Baughman, 1996, Natural born spender). Arriving just before election day, one direct mail ad (Ewing/Baughman, 1996, Welcome to Puerto Rico) said: "Bill Coyne gave special tax breaks to mega-corporations that send Pittsburgh jobs to Puerto Rico."

Pittsburghers, says consultant Dennis Casey (1997), have a basic respect for people that comes out of their work ethic. "When Cohen came in with a scorcher, it offended people." These voters are loyal liberals, electing Coyne to this seat for 16 years and William Moorhead for 24 years before him. And once you "violate that loyalty of Pittsburgh voters," according to Raymond E. Owen (personal communication, 1997, Jan. 2), chair of the University of Pittsburgh's political science department, "it's like a West Virginia family feud—They always remember."

"While I don't believe him to be a mean person, Cohen's campaign gave new meaning to the term mean-spirited," Dimitri Vassilaros wrote in *The Observer* (1996, May 1-7, p. 9). In the same paper, Michael Romanello complained that Cohen had switched "from matters of economic development to his support for police, crime fighting and family values. These terms, as Cohen's fellow liberal Democrats have repeatedly charged when they've been used by Republican candidates, are common anti-black, anti-gay buzzwords" (p. 10). The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (1996, April 21) noted that Cohen had switched his argument from telling voters he would stand up to right-wing Republicans to sounding like one himself. "Of course, Mr. Cohen…is not a Newt-Gingrich-Rick Santorum Republican, he just plays one on TV" (p. B2).

But Cohen's campaign manager Bill Peduto (Cohen & Peduto, personal communication, 1997, Jan. 16) jumps to the defense. "Dan Cohen never took one position that was not also taken by President Clinton." Faint praise, some might say, but the creation of this kind of ambiguity is the stock and trade of political media consultants, according to Petracca (1989). And it is built atop politicians' own tendencies toward ambiguity. "First, they (consultants) make it standard practice, and second it becomes institutionalized in the organization and running of the campaign" (Petracca, 1989, p. 13).

Cohen's campaign got so negative that the *Post-Gazette*'s editorial board (Deibler, 1996, April 25) later called it "the political equivalent of a mad scientist's experiment."

saying Cohen had "mixed a lot of poisons together, watched the brew bubble and gurgle and then succumbed to the fumes" (p. A14).

"It was a sleazy campaign, very sleazy," Congressman Bill Coyne (personal communication, 1997, Jan. 30) says, still angry a year later. "Every candidate should be guided by moral principles and for my part that means rejecting anything sleazy." Coyne took the high ground, resisting any response to the jibes in Cohen's ads. Conveniently, this is exactly the right posture strategically for an incumbent, local consultants agree (Casey, 1997; Delano, 1997; Stroh, 1997). But Coyne goes further: "There is no place in politics—in a race for City Council or Congress—for the kind of demeaning tactics used in that campaign by my opponent."

A repentant Dan Cohen (1997) now agrees. "You have to lead from the heart....That campaign wasn't me, and it wasn't Pittsburgh," he says. "I listened to the consultants, but I should have listened to myself and to my constituents....I approved negative ads against Bill Coyne, and that was wrong....I have apologized, and I have learned from it."

Cohen is not the only candidate to have lost control once the consultants stepped in. In a survey of professional consultants, 44% said that "when it comes to setting issue priorities candidates are neither very involved nor very influential. When it comes to running an election 60% of the consultants said that their candidate/clients were neither very involved nor influential in the day-to-day tactical operation of the campaign" (Petracca, 1989, p. 13). Perhaps this is because candidates must attend to what consultants neglect: things like constituent service, political organization and volunteerism, while consultants favor analyses of voter preference, fund-raising, and advertising strategies (Petracca, 1989). This survey's results fit with the movie industry picture of political consultants as "highly skilled puppetmasters who pull the strings of programmable candidates; powerful manipulators who shape destiny—from war policy to the death penalty—with memos and poll numbers" (Faucheux, 1996, p. 2).

Congressman Coyne had always been seen as a decent, honest guy, but the primary attacks canonized him, as one supporter put it. Local political consultant Dennis Casey, who opposes negative campaigning on principle, thinks this example proves it is impractical as well. "You have an incumbent who is known far and wide as one of the nice guys of the world, and he holds a powerful position on the Ways and Means Committee. It stretches the public's credibility to attack a nice guy."

Besides, Casey adds, Cohen wore the attacker role like an ill-fitting suit. "Dan Cohen went against his nature. He's not an attack guy. You can't do that."

Voters frequently complain about negative advertising in political campaigns, but few experts deny its effectiveness. Casey (1997) points out that the first negative ads in this country were broadsides posted against George Washington's presidential candidacy. But the more significant landmark for modern campaigning is the first televised negative advertisement in 1952 by Estes Kefauver against Dwight D. Eisenhower. The effect of negative advertising on voter attitudes escalated after television spread its distribution and enhanced its effectiveness, say Sabato and Simpson (1996).

Negative campaigning reached its modern zenith in the 1988 presidential race, a campaign many consider the nadir of political discourse. Lee Atwater, Reagan's spin doctor and later the master of Bush's negative 1988 campaign, predicted—on his death bed—that the time was at hand when negative advertising would backfire and die of natural causes. The public, he said, would come to reject it (Brady, 1997), as Pittsburgh voters did in this election.

Negative political advertising is usually employed to damage the opponent's reputation, although it can also damage the attacker's. "Some professional consultants suggested that 'a wave of negative ads frequently reduces the attacker's political standing a few points. But those numbers nearly always bounce back within a few days'" (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991, p. 14). But aspiring politicians like Dan Cohen have learned the hard way that these numbers do not always bounce back. In fact, depending on the opponent's standing in the community, negative advertising can severely damage the attacker's reputation, making it almost impossible to salvage his reputation. "If you get beaten badly, the perception is that you can't come back. It's hard to raise money the next time, so it (negative campaigning) is a double -edged sword," according to consultant Pat Stroh (1997).

Peduto (Cohen & Peduto, 1997) says, however, that hard-hitting advertising tactics are called for in an electoral system that is stacked so overwhelmingly in favor of incumbents. History, Peduto claims, shows a challenger wins only one out of 2,000 elections unless the incumbent falls victim to redistricting or a scandal. Cohen and his consultants banked on both of these to help them.

Pennsylvania's 14th Congressional district has always been a reliable liberal stronghold for the Democrats, but the 1992 redistricting added more conservative suburban neighborhoods to this urban district. Consultants appear to have advised Cohen to run to the right of the left-leaning Coyne and garner support from the suburbs (Lauer et al., 1996).

They also played up any hint of scandal in Coyne's record, despite the incumbent's reputation as a clean politician. Consultants commonly use scandal to turn an incumbent's advantage around (Ginsberg, 1989). Some even prescribe that the challenger try an "R.I.P." formula— revelation, investigation, and prosecution—to reveal an alleged wrongdoing, trigger an investigation and finally the prosecution of the official(s) involved. "This weaponry, R.I.P., has in some respects come to replace electoral conflicts in the United States. Politicians are disgraced, thrown out of office, or sent to prison" (Ginsberg, 1989, p. 19).

Consultants are to blame for much of the perception, if not the reality, of corruption in modern politicians and political campaigns, say Sabato and Simpson (1996). They point out, however, that corruption is as old as politics itself. Thomas Jefferson mentioned it in his Notes on the State of Virginia. "In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate, and improve" (as quoted in Sabato & Simpson, 1996, p. 18). In fact, the United States has experienced a major scandal in government every 50 years since 1872, according to Elizabeth Drew (1983). From the Credit Mobilier scandal in 1872 to the Teapot Dome in 1923 and 1924, to the Watergate Scandal in 1972-74, America has traveled a 50-year cycle of scandal. (If this trend continues, America can expect the next large political scandal in 2022.) "Corruption is truly a staple of our Republic's existence, and its durable, undeniable persistence in the face of repeated, energetic attempts to eradicate it is darkly wondrous" (Sabato & Simpson, 1996, p. 10).

In fact, Sabato and Simpson contend, many experts believe that politics are actually cleaner than ever today. "[T]here have been very few cases of outright bribery revealed in recent years; and public servants are required by the law to abide by strict ethical codes that guard against conflicts of interest and other perceived evils" (p. 6). Corruption, however, *appears* to be more prevalent, Sabato and Simpson say, because dealings that used to be held in back rooms, where no one but political insiders saw, have become public through extensive media coverage and reform regulations that require full disclosure of financial donations and campaign activities.

Sabato and Simpson (1996) also point to the push poll as both a symptom and cause of scandal in political campaigning. In 1994, they point out, pollsters asked Maine voters if they would vote for GOP Congressional nominee Richard A. Bennett if they knew he had defaulted on student loans. He never had. In 1994, pollsters falsely asserted that Alaskan Democratic Gov. Tony Knowles supported gay marriages and adoptions.

While government may be less corrupt, campaigns "are sinking ever deeper into a bog of sleaze and slime—a primordial political ooze whose toxicity is increased by new technologies that make voters who are already turned off hate politics all the more intensely" (Sabato & Simpson, p. 10). In fact, the authors blame campaign scandals for the fact that many Americans have lost faith in government itself. In 1964, polls showed

76% of Americans thought they could trust the government to do what was right most of the time. By 1995, only 19% of Americans agreed with that statement.

Aftermath and Analysis

Dan Cohen has taken a sheepish "Checkers"-like speech on the road and won the party's endorsement for the May primary. Common wisdom says Cohen will survive, in part because three contenders—Edward D'Alessandro, Barbara Behrend Ernsberger, and Cohen's former treasurer, Rich Fitzgerald— divide his primary opposition. A fourth, attorney Jonathan Robison, dropped out in March after determining that he agreed with Cohen on most issues and that Cohen was likely to win. And, as political analyst Jon Delano and Duquesne University political scientist Patricia Dunham contend, voters have a long history of electing officials after they have suffered a defeat. "In the 1997 primary, we will see whether Dan Cohen is a dead duck or if people forgive him," Delano said.

Some think he has burned too many bridges. "Perhaps Dan Cohen could rehabilitate himself, but people will still be suspicious. 'Once spurned, twice shy,'" says one time supporter Liane Norman (1997), who thinks Cohen's campaign hurt not only himself but the Democratic party's next generation.

All the Pittsburgh pundits agree that the local Democratic party needs to nurture a younger generation to serve this liberal constituency. In that sense, it is critical that Democrats bury the hatchet long enough to learn what Dan Cohen's failed campaign has to teach them.

Some, like Dennis Casey, think that lesson is to abandon negative campaigning, which he thinks degrades the political process and too often backfires. Others like Liane Norman and Kathryn Hens-Greco, who left the Cohen campaign, agree. They now support Rich Fitzgerald.

To media consultant Will Robinson, the most important lesson is that negative tactics that may work in a general election can fail miserably in a primary. "All the studies I've seen say that people who vote in primaries anywhere tend to better informed," explains

University of Pittsburgh history professor Van Beck Hall (personal communication, 1997, Feb. 20). And the exceptionally low voter turnout last spring meant that only the most dedicated—and best informed—party stalwarts participated.

Taken together, last spring's primary for Congress and this spring's race for City Council District 8 point out the worst and the best in the modern political campaign process. At one time the powerful Democratic Party would have prevented Cohen's fiasco last spring. The party's endorsement of Coyne before the primary would have stopped the challenge. But as Theodore H. White, presidential chronicler and political journalist, said: "The old bosses are long gone and with them the old parties. In their place has grown a new breed of young professionals whose working skills in the new politics would make the old boys look like stumblebums" (as quoted in Trent & Friedenberg, 1991, p. 6). Consultants now promote candidates and issues that drive voters to the polls, which was once the role of the party. The decline of the party system has passed the job along to whomever was willing to step up to the challenge (Ginsberg, 1989, p. 19).

Now candidates run more independently, relying on consultants rather than ward heelers. And in this sense the whole process is more open, more democratic. But arguments over whether the new or old political system is the more democratic are not that simple.

Consultants bring many things to the electoral process. The polling they do, which parties shunned, has "enhanced the capacity of candidates to discuss issues that voters are concerned about and to target that information" (DeVries, 1989, p. 24). Done correctly, polling provides a two-way communication stream, and voters are privy to a flow of targeted, relevant information. Consultants have "removed the party communicating filter. Now candidates can go directly to the voters" (DeVries, p. 24).

Consultants have also made it possible for non-traditional candidates to be elected. Personal resources provide opportunities for women, minority and other non-traditional candidates, who might not have made it through the party's old-boy system

Some even argue that consultants will strengthen the party again. "Consultants hope to build a stronger relationship with parties. Relationships with parties are the only relationships that exist during off-year elections. And consultants are eager to foster them" (Lake, 1989, p. 28).

Critics, however, contend that consultants threaten the very fundamentals of democracy. They reduce the opportunities for novices to participate in politics, Petracca argues (1989, p. 13). They shrink the need for grassroots activity, or at least the traditional grassroots, says Lake (1989, p. 6). Now candidates can buy, along with consultants, their paid "grassroots" staffs that are "organized and highly technical" (Lake, p. 26). The more professional a candidate's campaign appears, the more likely are people to donate their time and money (Hernson, 1992, p. 860). And, since money can buy "grassroots" help, fewer amateur volunteers are needed.

Thus, consultants and their staffs take a lot of drudgery out of campaigns by doing unglamorous tasks like direct mail, phone banking and fund-raising. They bring computers that reduce or eliminate the human involvement, DeVries (1989) points out. But that human involvement brought more citizens into the electoral process and invested them in its outcome.

Critics point out that consultants have no long term vision and they damage candidates like Cohen in their all-out fights to win. "There is pressure on the candidate and on the consultants to win *this* campaign," Pat Stroh (1997) of BrabenderCox points out. "They don't think about the long run" the way political parties must. Cohen should have gone down to defeat graciously and used his campaign to build a positive image, Stroh suggests, then come back stronger the next time. But consultants, whose financial bread is buttered only with campaign victories, would rarely play such a strategy. A stronger Democratic Party would have taken a rising star like Dan Cohen, groomed his image, protected him from the foibles of his own ambition, and saved him for a better race.

Unlike political parties, consultants have little stake in governance. They have no real accountability to the public, only the win-loss record they sell to candidates. There is minimal internal check upon consultants. When the American Association of Political Consultants (AAPC) was created in 1969, it composed this Code of Professional Ethics, which is signed by all its members:

- I shall not indulge in any activity which would corrupt or degrade the practice of political campaigning
- I shall treat my colleagues and clients with respect and never intentionally injure their professional or personal reputations
- I shall respect the confidence of my clients and not reveal confidential nor private information obtained during our professional relationship
- I shall use no appeal to voters which is based on racism, religion, gender, or unlawful discrimination and shall condemn those who use such practices. In turn, I shall work for equal voting rights and privileges for all citizens
- I shall refrain from false or misleading attacks on an opponent or member or his or her family and shall do everything in my power to prevent others from using such tactics
- I shall document accurately and fully any criticism of an opponent or his or her record
- I shall be honest in my relationship with the media and candidly answer questions when I have the authority to do so
- I shall use any funds I receive from my clients, or on behalf of my clients, only for those purposes invoiced in writing
- I shall not support any individual or organization which reports to practices forbidden by this Code (American Association of Political Consultants, p. 4)

While the code sounds promising, only 800 of the 7,000 practicing political consultants have agreed to work within its guidelines.

Trent and Friedenberg (1991), however, argue that consultants are more than mere exploiters of the system for their own gain. Most are dedicated to their causes. "The primary motivation of most consultants is to make an impact on the political process. Most consultants have strong political beliefs. They work for like-minded candidates" (p. 291). Consultants are like the parties in that they identify with a specific policy platform and work for clients who stand for similar positions.

At one time, strong political parties in most major cities controlled the primary process through endorsement and pork barrel promises. The old Democratic machine that would have protected Dan Cohen last year would also have blocked the range of candidates competing this spring in Pittsburgh City Council District 8. Four young candidates are vying for the seat that represents a mixture of working class and wealthy neighborhoods in Pittsburgh's East End.

Dan Cohen, a year older and wiser, has returned to the familiar themes that brought him success in the past. He promises to work for economic development and to stop the leak of young talent from the area. He points to his work with community policing and playground safety. And he promises not to go negative. "I've made a mistake," Cohen (1997) admits. "Most people do. The important thing is to learn from it."

His one time ally and campaign treasurer, Rich Fitzgerald, has never run for office before, but he decided to challenge Cohen after supporters and some in the media congratulated him for his courage last year. He admits some have also accused him of opportunism. Fitzgerald and the other two challengers are conducting positive campaigns, talking about the city's most pressing issue—bringing new business to Pittsburgh.

In last spring's primary, the modern campaign process was played as a farce—a bitter battle enacted for a small audience. Most voters didn't even enter the theater. This year's race has a more hopeful plot—one promising young politician and three upbeat challengers who have taken the voters' message to heart; a host of younger residents taking part in these campaigns; and a political debate that has swung back on track with issues that really matter to the health of the city.

Few would argue for a return of the old party bosses who crushed all choice but their own in the primaries. But many would like to see more positive campaigns, ones that might draw voters out of their apathy and cynicism and out to the polls, rather than the negative, winner-take-all contests that consultants have tended to bring us.

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"Developing Integrated Marketing Communications Message Delivery Strategies: Challenges and Opportunities Associated with the Brand Contact Concept"

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Abstract

The emergence and evolution of integrated marketing communications has facilitated conceptual and operational changes in many advertising functions. In the case of advertising media planning, IMC has brought forth the "brand contact" concept to media planning. This broader, more consumer-oriented approach to media planning has generated much practitioner interest, thanks in part to its decreased reliance on measured and traditional media. While the brand contact perspective appears to have much potential, there have been few, if any, critical examinations of its applicability and value. This paper addresses this void by overviewing the brand contact concept, identifying and discussing the major challenges and opportunities associated with its use, and putting forth recommendations for more effectively utilizing brand contacts for integrated marketing communications. Overall, the brand contact approach brings forth many opportunities that can increase advertising effectiveness and efficiency, but significant operational barriers may limit wider use and application.

"Developing Integrated Marketing Communications Message Delivery Strategies: Challenges and Opportunities Associated with the Brand Contact Concept"

Throughout the 1990s, significant changes have been taking place in the advertising industry (Katz and Turk 1992; Rapp and Collins 1990). At the forefront has been the emergence, development, and adoption of "integrated" approaches to advertising and marketing communications (Nowak and Phelps 1994; Schultz et al. 1993). Integrated marketing communications (IMC) has altered advertising practices by broadening definitions of advertising, facilitating significant shifts in marketing communication and promotion budgets, increasing emphasis on accountability, and fostering demand for new and interactive communication technologies (Rust and Oliver 1994; Smith 1995). Although integrated approaches to marketing communications have necessitated changes in all of the major advertising functions (Schultz et al. 1993), the most visible and profound effects often involve media and message delivery practices (Nowak et al. 1996, Wang and Petrison 1991). Conceptually, if not operationally, adoption of an IMC perspective increases the significance of media decision making and calls into question many of the basic assumptions that have traditionally guided advertising media planning.

Since the introduction of IMC, a growing number of marketers have been replacing "inside out" approaches to media decision making with "outside in" approaches. "Inside-out" approaches are primarily concerned with identifying and selecting media channels and vehicles that deliver the quantitatively largest number of people at the lowest possible cost per thousand (Fortini-Campbell 1993); an approach that frequently favors mass media. In contrast to the "inside-out" emphasis on cost efficiency criteria, "outside-in" approaches revolve around a consumer orientation. Most, for example, begin by developing an in-depth understanding of the lives and lifestyle habits of targeted consumers (Fortini-Campbell 1993). Rather than attempting to maximize reach and frequency within a specified budget, the primary objective is matching media and message delivery channels with target audience lifestyles and consumption habits. Reaching the "right people" is more important than reaching large numbers of people (Nowak and Phelps 1994).

As recent advertising media planning research illustrates, an "outside-in" approach to advertising and marketing communication has spawned growing interest in media models and frameworks that attempt to link target audience information with media usage data (Cannon and Yoon 1994; Cannon et al. 1995; Ha 1995). Not only do such models usually result in a broader conceptualization of media (i.e., message delivery systems vs. media channels), Duncan and Caywood's (1996) IMC framework identifies four elements that frequently distinguish IMC thinking: media plans that encompass multiple as well as highly targeted media vehicles; the use of consumer databases to guide media planning and selection; the use of individual, rather than group-level, consumer information to guide media decision making; and greater emphasis on behavioral measures to evaluate media and message delivery channels.

Central to integrated or "outside-in" approaches to media selection and decision making is the notion of finding the best opportunities to speak to targeted consumers in a manner and time that they prefer. According to Schultz (1994), marketers and advertisers must learn:

> "to use all forms of communication which are (1) relevant and (2) ones to which consumers might be receptive. The biggest fallacy in the field of media are things like cost per thousand [people reached]. It doesn't make any difference how cheaply you can deliver the message, the question is, does the consumer get it? And the question is, when are they going to be most receptive to the message and when is it going to be relevant?" (p. 9)

At the core of "outside-in" approaches to media planning and decision making is the concept of "brand contacts" (Fortini-Campbell 1993). This concept, which recognizes distribution channels, marketing environments, and product publicity as important and relevant media planning domains (Hallahan 1996; Stewart, Frazier, and Martin 1996), requires media managers and planners to take on new roles and assume greater responsibility for helping to create and manage a brand's total communication (Fortini-Campbell 1993). Along with CPM, reach, and frequency, media managers and planners must learn (and be able) to 1) identify and understand target consumers' values, lifestyles, information processing patterns, motivations, and behaviors; 2) use this information to identify and select communication channels and/or media; and 3) integrate communication and media channels with marketing messages in a way that creates or fosters the desired brand image and meanings (Crown et al. 1993; Fortini-Campbell 1993; Solomon and Englis 1996).

Fortini-Campbell (1994; 1993) has provided a number of examples of how a brand contact concept can be used by marketers and advertisers. Productive and efficient use of the concept, however, assumes marketers and media planners have the ability to identify, measure, and assess the various ways consumers interact with brands. Thus, the purpose of this paper is three-fold. First, to identify and discuss four primary challenges that are likely to face marketers and media planners in utilizing a brand contact concept. Second, to identify some of the most significant opportunities that arise. These challenges and opportunities are then used to accomplish a third objective -- to put forward recommendations for developing and more effectively utilizing the brand contact idea. We will begin, however, with a brief overview of the brand contact concept.

Characteristics of the Brand Contact Concept

The brand contact concept is one of the most significant contributions to emanate from the evolution of integrated marketing communications (Duncan 1995). Brand contacts, or brand contact points, are any "information-bearing experience that a customer or prospect has with the brand, the product category, or the market that relates to the marketer's product or service" (Schultz et al. 1993, p. 51). During the course of their daily lives, consumers are exposed to, and perceive and process, a continual and wide range of brand and product information -- all of which have the potential to create, shape, or alter brand knowledge beliefs, intentions, and use. Unlike traditional approaches to media planning which place emphasis on measured and mass media, the brand contact concept recognizes that all varieties of communication, including packaging, product publicity, and consumers' direct experience can contribute to a brand's image or equity (Ebling 1993). As Fortini-Campbell (1994) noted, marketers and advertisers:

> "...Generally think about (brand) communication too narrowly. Instead of understanding the entire realm of our brand's communications, we concern ourselves with only a very small piece. Those things that are in our scope of responsibility." (p.2)

Application of the brand contact concept affects advertising media decision-making and planning processes in at least three significant ways. First, it requires marketers and media planners to recognize consumers receive and process four types of messages. These four types, captured in Duncan's (1995) message typology are: a) planned communications [i.e., messages created and put forth by marketers through traditional marketing communication functions and media (e.g., television or print advertisements, sales promotions)]; b) inferred messages [i.e., the messages customers infer from the non-promotional elements in the marketing mix, such as the product itself, pricing, or distribution]; c) maintenance messages [i.e., the message customers receive when interacting with an organization's sales or customer service representatives]; and d) unplanned messages [e.g., news stories or consumer remarks that a company has little or no control over]. While marketers usually have little direct control or influence over unplanned messages, the brand contact concept requires media planners to consider the value and potential impact of public relations, transit, and in-store communications. It also calls their attention to the often significant ability and credibility of communications other than advertising to create and facilitate the brand images and reputations that lead to purchase behavior (Ebling et al. 1993).

The brand contact concept also impacts the criteria used by marketers and media planners to evaluate and select message delivery channels and media vehicles. In addition to (audience) reach, frequency, and cost per thousand (CPM), environmental context/situation, timing, and location become important, and often determinant criteria. A medium or message delivery channel that offers a low cost per thousand may be less useful or cost efficient than a medium that reaches fewer people at a significant time (e.g., just prior to a purchase decision). Some IMC advocates, for example, have suggested there are relatively few occasions when CPM or total audience reach are appropriate decision making criteria (Schultz et al. 1993).

Finally, whereas traditional media planning is able to almost exclusively rely on media and syndicated research to identify appropriate message delivery channels and vehicles, the brand contact concept is quite research intensive. Marketers and media planners not only must be able to identify influential media, they must determine most, if not all, the non-advertising sources of information that influence consumer's knowledge, beliefs, intentions, and behaviors. In doing so, they must be able to 1) delineate when, where, and how consumers come into contact with their brand (as well as competitive brands) and 2) distinguish between influential and non-influential contacts. According to the media director at one national advertising agency, applying the brand contact concept often means the media department becomes the "brand contact department...whose task really comes down to managing the takeaway from all brand contacts" (Liesse 1995, p. S-9).

Challenges Involved in Using the Brand Contact Concept

Successful integrated marketing communication requires that marketers and media planners develop media and message delivery plans that recognize consumers typically integrate brand, product, and company information from a variety of message sources, only some of which are media-based (and even fewer of which are advertising-based) (Nowak et al 1996). In general, the use of the brand contact concept to achieve such plans involves a three-step process: identifying brand contacts, assessing their utility, and integrating selected contacts into a conceptually and operationally coordinated media and message-delivery plan/strategy. While many advertising academics and practitioners have advocated greater use of the brand contact concept (Fortini-Campbell 1993; Liesse 1995; Schultz and Barnes 1995), little, if any, published research has identified or discussed the challenges or opportunities that arise from its application. An examination of the concept, however, suggests there are at least four major challenges involved in utilizing the concept. These challenges can be classified into four areas: 1) defining and identifying brand contacts; 2) selecting brand contacts; 3) integrating or coordinating brand contacts; and 4) evaluating the efficacy and effectiveness of the message delivery plan and strategy.

Challenge Number One: Defining and Identifying Brand Contacts

The first challenge associated with the brand contact idea involves the currently ambiguous definition of "brand contact". In order to accurately identify, select, integrate, and evaluate brand contacts, the concept should be operationally defined. A brand contact is presently defined as any possible instance or encounter of brand exposure but the limited literature is neither detailed nor consistent in the definition. A critical question here is what exactly "qualifies". The parameters of a brand contact have not been clearly outlined.

For example, there are visual, aural, and experiential factors to consider. Does a consumption experience involving a familiar product in which the brand name is known but not visible "qualify"? A consumer could purchase a certain brand of coffee then transfer the contents to a different container. While the consumer has contact with that brand every morning by drinking the coffee and is aware of the brand, the logo and packaging are not visible at the time. How would this situation compare to the visualization of a logo in terms of defining a brand contact? As Lutz (1996, p. 364) appropriately indicates, "consumption does not necessarily imply brand name exposure".

Further, there are temporal or intensity factors to consider. Does a contact that involves a brief instance of brand exposure through peripheral vision or below the level of perception "qualify" (Crown et al. 1993; Lutz 1996)? For example, as a consumer drives along a highway and is exposed to a billboard for a brand in their peripheral vision yet does not consciously note it, would this situation "count" as a brand contact? How should the variable of time be considered in the definition of brand contacts?

Challenge Number Two: Selecting Brand Contacts

The second challenge involves selecting among the broad spectrum (i.e., "all") of the times, situations, and places of brand contacts (including controlled, uncontrolled, paid, and unpaid contacts) (Crown et al., 1993; Fortini-Campbell 1994; Schultz et al., 1993). It is clear that selecting brand contacts will require more research and monitoring than in the past (Schultz et al., 1993). Yet, there is little guidance regarding the process (Ebling, 1993).

Exactly how would someone go about selecting brand contacts? Who would this person be? Results may differ depending on whether the information is gathered by a consumer, researcher, agency employee, or company. What would the results look like and how would they be evaluated? The results may also differ depending on whether brand contacts are collected on videotape, audiotape, pencil and paper, or through the combined use of these tools.

There are additional challenges. For example, would this process involve the collection of information of one particular brand, several brands of a product category, or every brand contact of target consumers? Also, it could be difficult to isolate individual brand contacts to measure the impact of a single brand contact without considering its synergistic effect with other factors (Schultz, 1993).

The time frames for selecting brand contacts should also be determined. It has been stated that marketers should continually collect and evaluate which contact points are the most manageable and valuable (Ebling et al. 1993). How frequent is continually? Is this a linear process of recording all brand contacts or is it iterative in nature? When is the best time to start and end brand contact selection? And, at what point is it no longer worth the incremental time and expense of gathering more information?

Further, the literature does not specify how many or what types of consumers should be studied nor address the issue of consumer tolerance and cooperation with being thoroughly and longitudinally researched. Can consumers, during their hectic everyday lives, be responsible for accurately remembering, efficiently recording, and appropriately evaluating all of their brand contacts if they are so asked? Also, how would consumers be able to recall and assess those brand contacts that involve instantaneous exposure below the level of perception? There has been little, if any, discussion yet regarding the validity of this data, how to motivate consumers to cooperate, and the potential ethical concerns regarding the privacy of consumers.

Challenge Number Three: Integrating Brand Contacts

The third challenge associated with the brand contact concept involves integrating brand contacts. That is, applying the knowledge from the previous steps by controlling the contacts that can be controlled, influencing the contacts that cannot be controlled, allocating the budget to the most important brand contacts to the target consumers (whether they can be controlled or not) and integrating those brand contacts in order to have a more synergistic effect and a stronger, consistent impression in consumers' minds regarding the brand (Fortini-Campbell 1993; Schultz et al. 1993).

The idea is that integrating brand contacts can build a strong coherent meaning and a foundation for a long term consumer-brand relationship (Fortini-Campbell 1993). Otherwise, target consumers may become confused and distrustful regarding the brand thus dissolving brand equity and relationship-building opportunities (Fortini-Campbell 1993). For example, a marketer's traditional advertising could essentially go to waste if other points of brand contact are contradicting it (Fortini-Campbell 1994). Schultz (1994, p. 6) reminds us that "the only place integration really occurs is with the consumer...They're the only people and the only place where all of the advertisers' activities come together at one point and at one time." The major question here is should integration occur across *every* point of contact (as advocated by Fortini-Campbell, 1993) or across only those brand contact points which will contribute the most value to the brand's equity and will likely affect consumer behavior (e.g., Ebling et al. 1993)?

Challenge Number Four: Evaluating the Effectiveness of the Message Delivery Plan

The fourth challenge associated with the brand contact concept is evaluating the effectiveness of the message delivery plan. Should all brand contacts be "weighted equally" unless otherwise indicated by consumers or should the feedback of marketers be included to determine the range of importance for brand contacts of varying characteristics? Further, what criteria should marketers use to assess the "value" or "merits" of different brand contacts? Should traditional criteria (i.e., reach, frequency, CPM-type measures or others or a combination) be considered?

Katz and Lendrevie (1996, p. 269) acknowledge that "some exposure types are probably a lot more influential and important than others". Do brand contacts involving the visualization of the logo or package have as much "value" as non-visual brand contact experiences? Also, do instantaneous brand contacts have as much "value" as prolonged brand experiences? Although consumers may be unable to recall and state the importance of instantaneous brand contacts, these contacts may be as or more influential than those that are easily remembered (Janiszewski 1990a, 199b). Further, some brand contacts can range from extremely positive to extremely negative in terms of the consumer's experiences. Should this variation be incorporated in the evaluation of brand contacts and if so, how? Finally, who should evaluate the effectiveness of the message delivery plan -- marketers, researchers, consumers themselves, or a combination?

Opportunities Provided By the Brand Contact Concept

With the challenges that have emerged from the brand contact concept, opportunities also arise. These opportunities can be classified into four areas: 1) the development of a brand contact typology; 2) the expansion of media planning research tools to include qualitative research; 3) the generation of new media research questions; and 4) the emergence of important future research avenues.

Opportunity Number One: The Development of a Brand Contact Typology

The first opportunity provided by the brand contact concept is that it sparks the development of a consumer-based, brand contact typology. Two existing classification schemes in this area have been identified. One typology is Duncan's (1995) message-based classification previously discussed in this paper. Another segmentation scheme is that presented by Katz and Lendrevie (1996) Their categories consists of: media exposures [i.e., all brand exposures in traditional media (e.g., advertising media, publicity in media)], product impressions [i.e., the consumers' exposures to the product itself; e.g., at-home, in-store exposures)]; and personal contacts [i.e., conversations (e.g., word of mouth, sales force and direct marketing)] (Katz and Lendrevie 1996). "By looking at how to evaluate all marketing communication, we may well also come up with new and better ways to evaluate traditional media vehicles" (Katz and Lendrevie 1996, p. 260).

An additional typology is proposed here. This typology could be based on specific, comprehensive, and longitudinal brand contact information from consumers' perspectives and insights gathered through qualitative research methods. The constructed typology should then provide a useful framework to assist researchers and practitioners in defining and consistently identifying brand contacts. Emerging uniquely from consumers' viewpoints and experiences, this brand contact typology should also have value for the evaluation of brand contacts and thus enable more effective message delivery strategies.

Opportunity Number Two: The Expansion of Media Planning Research Tools to Include Qualitative Research

The second opportunity provided by the brand contact approach involves the expansion of media planning research tools to include qualitative research. While traditional media planning has depended almost exclusively on syndicated research to identify appropriate message delivery options, the new brand contact concept demands intensive primary research.

Databases and surveys can be quite useful for collecting aggregate information regarding isolated brand contact instances. However, there are three important reasons researchers should not depend solely on a database. First, the information gathered tends to be superficial. Second, there will be a point at which it will not be economically efficient to gather additional consumer brand contact data. Third, consumers may not have the ability, time, or motivation to provide detailed, in-depth information by telephone or mail. Further, while future research should attempt to quantify in some way all brand contacts, this could be a difficult, if not impossible, task (Katz and Lendrevie 1996).

Thus, it may be fruitful to investigate brand contacts in an interactive, holistic manner and in naturalistic settings through qualitative research. Lutz (1996, p 359) acknowledges that "it may well be that unorthodox conceptual and methodological approaches hold the key to understanding the effects of much IMC activity". Qualitative research techniques have much to offer the brand contact concept, particularly for the development of a typology proposed here.

In-person qualitative research may be extremely worthwhile in terms of its potential contribution to the selection and assessment of brand contacts and in turn the development of strong brand equity. A variety of in-person qualitative research techniques could be used for brand contact research. Focus groups and in-depth interviews incorporating direct, open-ended questioning by a skilled moderator would be helpful. Further, some projective techniques (e.g., sentence or story completion, usage scenarios) could provide crucial emotional data regarding consumers' relationships with brands (Day 1989).

Participant observation and ethnography could also add essential insights into the cultural, social, environmental, and temporal contextual factors surrounding brand contacts (Lutz 1996). "Far too much advertising research is conducted in the laboratory. IMC demands movement into the field" (Lutz 1996, p. 363). For example, observing consumers during the purchase situation could provide valuable insights (Lutz 1996). Also, as brand contact experiences begin at an early age (Crown et al., 1993), longitudinal data could be collected through the qualitative life history method. Thus, providing rich, detailed, and dynamic descriptions of brand contacts over time.

Because in-person qualitative research can be expensive and time consuming, it could be supplemented by electronic qualitative research for gathering important information regarding consumer brand contacts. Some researchers are now conducting qualitative research over the internet including on-line focus groups (called on-line chats) and ethnographic studies of electronic communities (Clapper and Massey 1996; Crowley 1996; McMellon 1997). This new computer technology (i.e., the internet) could provide fascinating opportunities regarding the collection of brand contact information with the additional advantages of speed, cost effectiveness, and convenience. While a degree of the richness (i.e., emotion, nonverbal communication) of interpersonal interaction with qualitative research may be lost in cyberspace, some researchers have found consumers to be more candid regarding their responses on the internet.

Opportunity Number Three: The Generation of New Media Research Questions

The third opportunity associated with the brand contact concept is the generation of new media research questions. Under the brand contact concept, media researchers must ask new questions and additional questions in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of most, if not all, of the timing, placement, and situational characteristics surrounding non-advertising instances of brand information that influence consumers' knowledge, beliefs, intentions, and behaviors. Three applications of the brand contact concept have been identified in the literature: the brand contact inventory, the brand contact path, and brand contact tracking. These can also be conceptualized as three different research "stages" which range in time frame, situational context, and depth of knowledge regarding consumer brand contacts.

The first application of the brand contact concept is the brand contact inventory. This procedure focuses on identifying those brand contacts that are relevant to the particular target market and relating consumers' lifestyles to media. Fortini-Campbell (1993; 1994) has developed a "brand contact summary" worksheet. A variation of this technique is being applied by Leo Burnett Co. in which "a brand contact audit tallies each time a consumer comes into contact with a brand name, whether on a vending machine, a delivery truck or a TV commercial" (Liesse, 1995 p. S-9).

Following the brand contact inventory, the researcher attempts to collect information such as: where the brand is contacted; the consumer's expectation and experience at the point of contact; the brand message received; the overall positive or negative feelings; the importance of the contact to brand judgment; and the target for reinforcement or improvement (Fortini-Campbell, 1993). This data can be obtained from a variety of sources including surveys, experiments, and advertising response devices and then compiled into a database to provide information on consumer brand contacts (Ebling et al. 1993).

Once all brand contacts have been identified in the inventory, the next step is evaluating each contact point to select those most important to the target consumers in terms of contributing to their judgment of the brand and potential to influence their behavior (Ebling et al. 1993; Fortini-Campbell, 1994). The outcome of the evaluation should be a list of the most important and persuasive circumstances of contact points in which to most effectively communicate with target consumers (Fortini-Campbell 1994; Kaatz 1990). Because the focus and dollars spent should be on the most important contacts to the consumer, the findings may require reallocation of budgets away from traditional marketing communications and toward atypical communication areas (Fortini-Campbell 1994). Important media research questions arise here in terms of how to determine not only which brand contact points influence consumers' purchase behavior but also the degree to which each point influences them.

A second application is conducting brand contact paths. This requires closely examining the entire consumer purchase process. That is, tracing the flow of all of a consumer's steps, contacts, and sources along the way of making a single purchase decision of a particular brand (Schultz et al., 1993). The brand contact paths technique is thought to provide a more in-depth understanding of consumers' behaviors as well as a broader aggregate picture. Schultz et al. (1993) suggest conducting focus groups and then administering surveys to a larger number of subjects. "Once the marketing manager knows which contacts have affected past buying behavior, he or she can determine which contact points will most likely achieve the previously established marketing and communication objectives efficiently and effectively" (Ebling et al., 1993, p. 4).

A third application involves the brand contact tracking data collection process. This procedure is more longitudinal, detailed, and contextual than either the brand contact inventory or brand contact path. Brand contact tracking is critical for the development and maintenance of brand equity over time (Schultz et al. 1993). Schultz (1994, p. 9) states:

> "...Today, most communication and most marketing programs are planned on an episodic basis. Let's run this campaign. Let's do this unit. Let's implement this program. Let's run this thing. As if the consumer sort of turns off and turns on. Are they turned on to a new campaign? I better start paying attention. We assume there is no history in the consumer. But there is a long history...So, we have to start looking at communication over time. And, if we are going to look at communications as an investment, you cannot look at it from an episodic standpoint. You have to look at it over time"...

Some advertising professionals who have acknowledged the importance of brand contact tracking are developing their own variations. For example, DDB Needham Worldwide in Chicago, developed the personal media mapping model which traces the target consumers' media vehicle usage and habits over time (Kalish, 1990). These personal media maps can become quite complex and detailed (Kalish, 1990).

A retail-oriented brand contact tracking model called consumer customized communications clocks has also been proposed (Kaatz 1990). According to this view, each consumer has his/her very own "customized communications clock" which is constantly ticking every day of the year from the time the consumer awakes in the morning until the time the consumer goes to sleep at night. The idea is that in order to reach and effectively communicate with target consumers at the very best moment, marketers need an in-depth understanding of consumers' needs and wants at particular times during their own, individual schedules (Kaatz, 1990). In examining the above procedures for applying the brand contact concept, an important question emerges. Should all three "stages" (inventory, mapping, and tracking) be followed consecutively or should the steps be completed independently?

Opportunity Number Four: The Emergence of Future Research Avenues To Explore

The fourth opportunity provided by the brand contact concept is that it sparks important areas for future academic research. Descriptive studies that document brand contact characteristics, types, and prevalence could contribute to the development of a typology discussed previously. Academic qualitative studies that explore consumer brand contacts in naturalistic contexts are highly recommended. Investigations that examine how various marketing communicators utilize brand contact information also would certainly contribute knowledge in this area. And, studies that focus on the ethical issues that arise from collecting brand contact information from consumers are strongly encouraged. Efforts by scholars to conduct empirical research regarding the visual, aural, experiential, and temporal differences of consumer brand contacts would be beneficial too.

Research is also needed to extend advertising theory to the brand contact concept (Nowak and Phelps 1994). One alternative theoretical foundation may be involvement theory (e.g., Zaichkowsky 1986). For example, the brand contact concept seems to assume that consumer behavior is an active, rational process with high-involvement products in which brand contacts are salient. However, we expect that many of the brand contacts in consumers' everyday lives are instantaneous and with low-involvement products. The interaction of consumer characteristics, product characteristics (e.g., high-involvement, low-involvement, emotional, rational), and situational characteristics (e.g., high-involvement, low-involvement, emotional, rational) should be considered (Zaichkowsky 1986). Another possibility is the application of the uses and gratifications approach (e.g., Rubin 1985) to provide theoretical guidance for research on the brand contact approach. That is, discovering 'what people do with communications rather than what communications do to people' (Lutz 1996, p. 363) could provide a springboard for understanding in this area.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the brand contact concept -- the latest among a series of media changes. We believe the brand contact approach is a potentially valuable integrated marketing communications tool with significant ramifications for media research and thus the media planning and media buying processes. However, further refinement of this tool is necessary prior to successful implementation.

We have identified four challenges and four opportunities associated with the brand contact approach and hope that the questions raised and recommendations presented will stimulate scholarly interest as well as practical implementation. The development of a typology of brand contacts from consumers' perspectives with the assistance of in-person and electronic qualitative research is recommended as a next step in developing and more effectively utilizing the brand contact concept.

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Animation and Priming Effects in Online Advertising

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This study investigates effects of animated versus still presentation of online advertising in primed versus unprimed conditions within the context of the World Wide Web. All subjects (N = 41) in a factorial between-subjects experiment were asked to view online news and advertising material on a website. They were then tested for their memory of the ad, asked to provide an evaluation of the ad content and report their general level of emotional arousal. Analyses revealed significant relationships between priming and ad memory, animation and subjective evaluations of ad material, and interaction effects between priming and animation on the arousal measure.

UNLIKE the audiences for traditional media, online users are not a passive or captive audience. They are proactive and less prone to programming manipulations of the content provider, raising new challenges for the advertising industry. Advertisers have met this challenge by making use of the technological possibilities of the Web and innovating the art of advertising in the process of trying to attract as many online users as they can. Two recent innovations in online ads are animation and priming.

Increasingly, still ads are being replaced by animated ones on the Web. The general expectation is that animation, with its moving images and dynamic presence on a website, will attract users' attention more efficiently.

Another enticement is the placement of ads in a contextually relevant manner. Online ads are often relevant to the online text that the user has called up on the Web. For example, if a user does an Alta Vista search of the keyword "wines," the search-results page is likely to be bordered by an ad for "Virtual Vineyards," a mail-order retailer of wines. The advertiser, in this case, is hoping that users are primed by their own interest as well as the non-ad content of the page in a way that will make them more receptive to the ad and perhaps click on it to see more campaign and/or sales material.

The purpose of this study is to examine the psychosocial effects of both animation and priming in Web advertising. Specifically, it seeks to investigate the effects of animation and priming on arousal, evaluation and memory of the content of online ads. This paper will first introduce online advertising, review the relevant literature on animation and priming, and propose a set of hypotheses. It will then present the methods and results of an experiment conducted to test those hypotheses. Finally, it will discuss the findings in their appropriate methodological context.

Online Advertising

Since the global internet became available for use by commercial services in the early 1990s, a method of advertising has developed that allows both companies and entrepreneurs to promote their products and services to millions of consumers in a matter of seconds (Levinson & Rubin, 1995). The internet is a worldwide interconnection between millions of computers and computer networks via phone lines, satellites and other telecommunications systems (Ellsworth & Ellsworth, 1995; Mathiesen, 1995). Thanks to this connection, advertisers can place advertisements in a large variety of computer locations ranging from online services such as Prodigy and CompuServe to the World Wide Web(WWW) and computer bulletin boards. The market size they can reach is overwhelming considering the large number of people connecting to the internet each day (Brannigan, 1996). It is estimated that two new user accounts are added to

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the Internet every four minutes, and that by now, the number of people connected to the Internet is well over 30 million (Levinson & Rubin, 1995).

Online advertisements are typically presented so that consumers first see a small presentation inviting them to use their mouse to click onto a certain location, which advances them to another page that will reveal more information about the product or service. Thus, online advertisers want to create an advertisement that entices consumers to click and seek more information.

However, this is not advertisers' only goal. Competitors often share advertising space on a single computer page with numerous other companies and individuals. As a result, an abundance of information is offered to people on most Internet pages, and competition to attract users to one particular spot is tough. A small company with a meager revenue can now compete at an equal level with corporations ten times its size (Levinson & Rubin, 1995). Computer advertisers, consequently, want to grab consumers' attention as well as display a message that is easily remembered and attractive.

Animation

Embedding pictures and graphics into computer advertisements is one technique used to simplify or enhance online presentations (Ellsworth & Ellsworth, 1995). Yet, with more and more messages including images along with or instead of textual presentations, an even more unique form of advertising may be desired. Several recent developments (i.e. animated GIFs, JAVA, and VRML) in software standards for the WWW have enabled more robust platform-independent web-based multimedia presentations which incorporate moving imagery and/or allow end-user interaction with animated graphical objects. Such enhancements are increasingly employed on commercial web pages in attempts to attract the attention of web-browsing prospects.

This experiment considers whether the animated enhancement of online advertisements provides an efficient method for catching people's attention, since the moving image would stand out from a static one. Reeves et al. (1985) took EEG measures of people's eye movements to study the attention they gave to television commercials. They found a correlation between movement in commercials and higher attention by the people watching them. Their results help substantiate the claim that motion captures attention.

Specifically, the present study examines subject's recognition and aided memory recall of animated versus still online advertisements. The experiment also considers whether animated or still advertisements affect memory of other material presented concurrently on the computer screen. This experiment then looks at how people judge the advertisements' appearances as well as how they rate their own arousal levels after viewing the advertisements.

Based on the dual-coding theory advanced by Paivio (1979, 1986), it may be speculated that animated images could facilitate memory significantly better than still images. The theory suggests that since long-term memory consists of both verbal and visual coding mechanisms, information that is coded by both methods is more likely to be remembered. For example, according to the theory, pictures would have a greater opportunity to be dually coded than words alone because images have both visual and verbal elements. Information stored through dual coding remains with a person longer because if one memory trace is lost (whether visual or verbal), the other is still available (Rieber, 1990b, 1991). Past research has shown support for the idea that visual aids can facilitate learning in regards to instructional material (Kobayashi, 1986; Levie & Lentz, 1982; Levin & Lesgold).

Other studies have extended the dual-coding theory to moving images with a suggestion that animation can facilitate learning via computer-based instruction (Rieber, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991; Rieber & Hannafin, 1988; Rieber, Boyce & Assad, 1990). Rieber (1991) suggests that animation portrays motion and trajectory of an image, and as a result, codes ideas visually by the actual image and verbally by implied relationships, such as a "slow-moving" or "fast-moving" object. In Rieber's experiments, children, and occasionally adults, who completed computerized lessons with animated images scored higher than those completing the same lessons featuring static images. Yet, research has also shown that learning through animated visuals is dependent on the task at hand (Rieber, 1990b; Rieber, Boyce & Assad, 1990).

The present study investigates the possibility of applying the dual-coding theory to animated images and general memory. In other words, will moving pictures aid memory for material that is not presented as an instructional lesson?

There have only been a few published studies looking at this relationship between moving images and memory. Kipper (1986) found in an experiment that people remembered the physical layouts of videotaped scenes more accurately when they were shot with a moving rather than with a fixed camera. Despite this support, it has been suggested that motion effects on memory are dependent on certain types of information and motion (Detenber & Reeves, 1996). However, psychological experiments with motion have overwhelmingly supported the thesis that "[w]hen objects or people in pictures move, attention will be higher than during segments with no motion" (Reeves & Nass, p. 220). Assuming that higher attention will result in better memory, we advance the following hypothesis:

H1: Animated version of an online advertisement will be remembered better than the still version of the same ad.

Considering the relationship between animation and appearance evaluation, little research has been done. The same can be said for animation and people's arousal level. Detenber and Reeves (1996) studied these two concepts by having people examine moving and still pictures, and then self-report their emotional responses, two of which were how pleasurable the image appeared and how aroused it made them feel. The study supported the bio-informational theory, which suggests that certain attributes such as motion, size, shape and color can produce emotional responses such as fear or happiness (Detenber & Reeves, 1996).

The present study examines if the movement in online advertisements can influence people's emotions. The experiment follows prior studies that have measured emotion (Bradley, Greenwald, Petry & Lang, 1992; Detenber & Reeves, 1996; Lang, Greenwald, Bradley & Hamm, 1993) in that it records people's self-reported visual pleasure and arousal levels after viewing certain images. These two measures are considered indicators of people's emotions.

A difference between the study by Detenber and Reeves (1996) and the present experiment should be noted. The prior study showed that people rated the still images more pleasurable to look at and more arousing than those that were moving; however, the subjects were evaluating pictures displayed alone and not images embedded among a large amount of unrelated material. It is speculated that results in the present study may be different because online advertisements are seen with other varying information presentations. Moving images surrounded by a multitude of still images may be judged more attractive or arousing because they stand out from the other material (e.g., Reeves & Nass, 1996).

Furthermore, a recent study using a superior design showed that motion in pictures increases viewer's arousal and results in more positive subjective evaluations of picture content (Detenber, Simons & Bennett, Jr., 1997). Therefore, we advance the following hypotheses regarding the effects of animation on subjects' arousal and subjective evaluations of ad content:

H2: Animated version of an online advertisement will lead to greater arousal than the still version of the same ad.

H3: Animated version of an online advertisement will be evaluated more positively than the still version of the same ad.

Priming

Priming effects are also considered in this experiment. According to Berkowitz and Rogers (1986), priming is something that not only fosters certain thoughts in people, but also increases the probability that these ideas and related ones will come to mind again in the near future.

Priming can be influential when people are first introduced to something, such as a word or image, and then later use this information or related thoughts when activating memory processes. Schleuder, White and Cameron (1993) found that people who watched televised news stories primed by bumpers and teasers scored higher on verbal recognition tests.

Emotion has also been related to priming in studies suggesting that emotionally related primes can influence people's feelings and actions (Berkowitz, 1990; Bower, 1981; Lang, 1979; Leventhal, 1984). Thus, an emotionally positive prime could lead to a good evaluation of a related concept or a certain type of behavior. Yi (1990) found that people who were primed with positive information regarding computers judged computers more positively than people who were exposed to negative computer attributes. Josephson (1987) demonstrated that priming can result in greater arousal, especially to perform behaviors such as aggression.

This study examines subject response to animated versus still online advertisements that are either primed or not primed with related verbal and visual content prior to exposure. Based on the studies cited above (see Jo & Berkowitz, 1994 for a review of priming effect analysis), we advance the following hypotheses:

H4: Subjects primed with information about the content of an online ad will have better memory for the content of the ad than subjects who are not primed.

H5: Primed subjects will evaluate an online ad more positively than non-primed subjects.

H6: Primed subjects will be aroused more by an online ad than non-primed subjects.

In addition to testing these six hypotheses, this study also considered the possibility of interaction effects between animation and priming on the three dependent variables. Since there are no precedents in the media effects literature about the combined effects of animation and priming, we were not able to advance any interaction hypotheses. However, we did test for two-way interaction effects as reported in later sections of this paper.

Method

All subjects (N = 41) in a between-subjects experiment were asked to view online news and advertising material on a website. A 2x2 factorial design was used, with two levels of animation (animated, still) and two levels of priming (primed, non-primed) serving as the independent factors. After exposure to the website, subjects were tested for their memory of the ad, asked to provide their subjective evaluation of the ad content and report their general level of emotional arousal.

Subjects

Forty-one undergraduate students enrolled in a senior level criminology course participated in the study. The students were told that the study concerned on-line presentation of media content and that they would be given extra credit for their participation. Students were asked to select a convenient session from among four sessions offered at one-half hour intervals between 5:30 and 7:00 on a Tuesday evening. All participants had at least some internet exposure, since each had a computer access account. Thirty-four men and seven women participated in the study. Subjects were distributed among conditions by preference for sign-up times only. No attempt was made to distribute subjects evenly by gender or any other criteria.

Independent Variables

The manipulated independent variables in this study were 1) animated versus still presentation of the online advertisement and 2) primed versus non-primed introduction to the online material viewed by the subjects.

The focal stimulus used in the study was an ad for gourmet coffee. Subjects in the animated condition were exposed to the ad with animated text in the ad while their counterparts in the still condition viewed the same ad, but with the text remaining still. Subjects in the primed condition were administered a verbal prime about gourmet food during the instruction session. They were also administered a visual prime by way of a screen-saver showing the cover of *Gourmet* magazine when they were waiting in front of their terminals to begin the experiment. These two primes were not administered to subjects in the non-primed condition.

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Dependent Measures

Effects were measured via questionnaire for subject's memory of advertising content; by Likert-type scales for eliciting subjective evaluations of the online material on several dimensions; and by a SAM scale for self-report of general level of emotional arousal at two points during the experiment.

Subjects' memory for online content was measured using 12 questions, six relating to the news stories on the online page (e.g., "What is the last name of the musical composer featured in one of the articles?") and six relating to ad content (e.g., "What product was being advertised?"). Half the questions were open-ended, designed to measure recall memory. The other half of the questions measured recognition memory using multiple-choice questions.

Subjective evaluations were elicited using 10 Likert-type scales wherein subjects were asked to indicate their level of agreement with questionnaire statements along a five-point continuum. Five of the ten statements were positively valenced (e.g., "The on-line advertisement was entertaining") while the remaining five were negatively valenced (e.g., "The advertisement was a nuisance on the page").

Arousal was self-reported by subjects using a paper-and-pencil version of the Self-Assessment Manikin (SAM), a five-point pictorial scale depicting a relaxed state at one end and an excited state at the other (Lang, 1980; Bradley, Greenwald, Petry & Lang, 1992)

Procedure

Four experimental sessions were conducted during consecutive half-hour periods on a Tuesday evening. As the students arrived for each session at the study location, they were greeted in the hallway by one of the researchers. An initial orientation of approximately seven minutes' duration was conducted for each group in order to explain the study, receive informed consent for subject participation, and to read specific instructions for procedures to follow.

For two of the groups, instructions included a verbal prime related to the content of the advertisement used in the study. Instructions to the other two groups omitted the verbal prime.

While still in the hallway, all groups were asked to complete a SAM scale to indicate their present general level of emotional arousal, to be used as a baseline for comparison to later measurement. The subjects were not forewarned of the later SAM measurement. The students were then taken into a computer training lab and asked to sit at any available computer and await further instructions.

For the two primed groups, a page captured from an online version of *Gourmet* magazine was already on the screen as they were seated. The page included a masthead for the magazine, a color photograph of green bell peppers, and a listing of article titles and department headings available on the web site. On the screen, above the *Gourmet* page, were the printed instructions "Please wait until instructed to do so, then click here to start." For the non-primed groups, a blank page containing only the printed instructions was on the screen as they were seated in the computer room.

The students were read instructions that said the researchers were interested in online presentation of media content. They were further instructed, that when asked to do so, they should click on the start instructions which would bring the online material for the study. Subjects were asked to try to review the subsequent material as they would any other newspaper or magazine, and to continue reviewing the material for the seven minutes allotted for the task. Subjects were also told that the researchers were only interested in the front page presentation of the material, and that all links embedded in the material had been deactivated, as indeed they had been.

Once instructed to begin, the students were presented with a modified front page of news and related items captured from washingtonpost.com, the online version of the *Washington Post*. The page was in the format of a typical online newspaper with an identifying masthead at the top, and text and colored pictures underneath. The text dealt with actual news and feature stories. The page selected for use in the study was chosen because the authors felt that there were very few exceptional or uniquely dated news stories that would have been subject to greater risk of outside contamination for purposes of memory testing (as was much of the election coverage current immediately prior to the study, for example).

The resulting page layout extended beyond the depth of the computer screen, requiring students to use the browser to "pull down" the page in order to view all of the content. Students were instructed that this would be the case, and all subjects were observed scrolling throughout the material as required during the study.

Included among the items on the page, adjacent to the masthead, was an advertisement designed for the experiment. The product featured in the color advertisement was Gavalia Kaffe. The ad pictured a steaming coffee cup, and offered a recipe for cappuccino brownies to those who clicked on the ad. As with all other links on the page, the recipe link was deactivated. In the animated condition, the text "Recipe!" repeatedly wrote itself onto the screen, letter by letter. In the still condition, the ad was identical except that the image was static, with the text "Recipe!" fully revealed.

Immediately after the seven minutes allotted for review, the students were asked to stop perusing the online material and complete another SAM scale on paper that had been placed face down adjacent to each computer prior to their admission to the room. The students were then taken by another member of the research team to another location, where they were asked to complete a questionnaire to test recall and recognition of both advertisement and news content. This was followed by another questionnaire measuring subjects' subjective evaluations of the online advertisement.

Subjects were then thanked for their participation and dismissed.

Data Analysis

Responses for the dependent measures were tabulated as follows:

For each item on the memory questionnaire, a value of 1 was assigned to correct responses and a value of 0 was assigned to incorrect responses and to unanswered questions.

The Likert items were scored on a scale of 1-5, with the scale applied to each item so that higher scores reflected more favorable evaluations.

The SAM measurement also used a 1-5 scale for self-report of general level of emotional arousal. The lower extreme indicated an unaroused state and higher numbers indicated more highly aroused states. A single SAM differential measurement was derived from the two measurements taken. The SAM differential reflected the net increase or decrease in self-reported arousal from the baseline measure taken during subject orientation to the measure taken immediately after subjects reviewed the online material.

Each of the three categories of dependent measures (memory, evaluation, and arousal) was entered into a series of 2x2 factorial analyses of variance, with animation and priming as the independent factors.

Results

Data analyses revealed significant main effects relating to H3 and H4 as well as a transverse interaction between animation and priming on the arousal measure.

Animation Effects

None of the three hypotheses regarding animation effects were fully supported by the data. Main effects for animation on the memory and arousal measures failed to attain statistical significance, thereby failing to support H1 and H2. However, there was partial support for H3. Subjects from the animated condition rated the ad less of a nuisance and less likely to be confused with news content (these were the only two significant items among the ten Likert scales administered; they were additively indexed for analysis) than did subjects from the still condition, $F(1,39) = 5.6162, p < .05$.

Priming Effects

An exploratory factor analysis of the six memory questions pertaining to ad content yielded two significant factors explaining 53.15 percent of the variance. The first factor comprised of three items that quizzed subjects about the ad in relation to the online page as a whole (what product advertised; where on page was ad located; what item was pictured in the ad) whereas the second factor had items that probed memory for the central content of the ad (brand name of product; background color of ad; what did the ad offer if you clicked on it). When entered as a dependent variable in the factorial analysis of variance, the first factor did not yield any significant results. The second factor, on the other hand, showed a significant main effect for priming such that primed subjects, on average, remembered significantly lesser material than their non-primed counterparts, $F(1,40) = 5.93, p < .05$. Therefore, this finding disconfirmed H4 by showing a significant difference in the reverse direction.

Among the six items measuring memory for news content, only one question (which asked subjects to identify the section of the *Post* where an article appeared) showed a significant main effect for priming. Again, non-primed subjects were found to be significantly more likely to get the answer right than primed subjects, $F(1, 40) = 7.4, p < .01$.

There were no significant main effects for priming on the evaluation and arousal measures. Therefore, H5 and H6 failed to receive support from the data.

Animation & Priming Interaction

While the two-way interaction term representing the combined effect of animation and priming showed no statistical significance on the memory and evaluation measures, there was a transverse relationship between priming and animation on the SAM differential arousal measure, $F(1, 40) = 6.61, p < .05$. Least squares means for the condition pairs were as follows: non-primed/still = -0.62; non-primed/animated = 0.66; primed/still = 0.00; primed/animated = -0.36. Negative means reflect decreases in reported arousal in the post-exposure measure. The interaction effect might therefore be correctly stated as the presence of either animation or priming alone results in less of a decrease in reported arousal than either the combination of both priming and animation or the absence of both.

Discussion

In summary, the findings suggest that animation serves to inhibit the perception of online ads as a nuisance. Animation also seems to lower the confusion caused by the presence of advertisements on an online site. However, animation does not seem to significantly improve users' memory for ad content.

The reverse pattern of effects was obtained with the priming variable. Priming does not seem to influence users' perceptions of online ads, but it appears to negatively influence subjects' memory for ad content.

Animation and priming seem to have a combined effect on users' arousal such that when both animation and priming are simultaneously present on a website, they cause a significant decrease in arousal than when one is present and the other absent.

These findings extend the results of recent investigations that compare WWW with different traditional media by explicitly studying the effects of features unique to the Web. The problem with studies that compare new media with old ones is that they use the format dictated by older media, without adequately incorporating the new technological features of emerging media (e.g., DeFleur, Davenport, Cronin & DeFleur, 1992). This is done in order to maintain experimental equivalence between the various media conditions. For example, in a recent experiment measuring differences between online and print ads, Sundar, Narayan, Obregon and Uppal (1997) used a tabloid newspaper front-page for the print condition and the same page delivered via a computer screen for their online condition. The latter condition fared poorly on subject memory compared to the former, and the authors argued that advertisers would have to do more to attract readers than they would in the print medium. They noted that "[t]o the extent advertisers use the new features of the online medium that are non-existent in print (audio and video downloads, animated images, hyperlinks, site-maps, etc.), they are probably more likely to enhance user attention to advertising." At least one study has shown the efficacy of using site-maps and hyperlinks (May, Sundar & Williams, 1997). Clearly, more empirical investigations are needed to document the psychosocial effects of the many technological features unique to the Web.

The present experiment represents a step in that direction. While it did not study many of the aspects of WWW, it considered two (animation and priming) and found that these two elements have a combined effect on users' arousal level, but have minimal, if any, effect on users' memory and evaluations.

However, the results from this study cannot be considered conclusive — not just because of the overabundance of null findings, but because of methodological limitations encountered in the execution of the study. These limitations are explained in the next section of this paper.

Limitations

Many of the results reported in this paper, including null findings, must be viewed with suspicion, for reasons discussed in this section. It is hoped that the methodological flaws of the study outlined below will prove to be educational to other scholars as they attempt effects-type investigations in this new medium.

Computer System Responsiveness

During the animated sessions, the responsiveness of the computers used was significantly slower than that observed in the still ad sessions. Increased network overhead caused by multiple simultaneous attempts to access files containing the animated advertisement, each of which initiated a higher bandwidth network transaction compared with that of the still version, was the source of the problem. Subjects in the animated condition had to suffer tedious and frustrating delays in system response, while their counterparts in the still condition had minimal, if any, delays from network overhead. These delays were not trivial. While it may be argued that similar delays exist for many real-world users of the WWW, who have relatively low-bandwidth dial-up connections to the 'net, any comparison in our study between the animated and still conditions nevertheless is confounded with the comparison of relatively responsive systems in the still condition with laboriously unresponsive systems in the animated condition. We need to ask whether the results we obtained were due to the enhancing presence of animation or the distracting presence of extreme network delays. This question cannot be answered with any confidence based on the data collected in the present investigation.

Neither is the influence of these delays straightforward or predictable. It is reasonable to suspect that end-user frustration from delayed system response may adversely influence the subjective evaluations for which the Likert-type scales were devised. But in our study, subjects in the animated condition found the advertisement less of a nuisance than in the still condition. Would not the presence of extreme network delay in the animated condition cause the opposite reaction on nuisance and confusion measures? Intuitively, we could say that it might, but only if the subjects identified animation as the cause of the delay, and if they evaluated the Likert items with that awareness foremost in their minds. However, perhaps it is not too convoluted to hypothesize that given the magnitude of network inconvenience observed in the animated condition, any other distraction or inconvenience pales by comparison, resulting in a decreased likelihood that subjects in the animated condition would attribute significant nuisance factors to any of the content, advertisement included. An analogous situation might be worrying about some lint specs on your blazer when a passing car has just splashed by and covered you with mud.

The delays also may have been sufficiently distracting to influence recall measurements for the animated condition, though no significant relationship between animation and ad memory was discerned in our analyses. For instance, subjects who are investing a lot of mental energy in thinking "Why is this screen so pokey?" may not have much attention left for other cognitive tasks.

In short, the observed network problems were of sufficient magnitude and duration, and were unique to the animated condition, so as to call into question any results based on the animation independent variable. Therefore, our hypotheses H1, H2, and H3, all of which explicitly consider animation, remain unresolved.

Priming Manipulation

Contextual priming often presents a tricky problem in experimentation primarily because researchers cannot determine if the manipulation worked. Administration of a manipulation check will likely prime subjects in the control condition and thus obscure the difference in manipulation between the primed and non-primed conditions. Therefore, experiments typically use a creative prime and assess the effectiveness of the independent variable (i.e., the manipulation) based on the results obtained. Since the priming manipulation in this experiment failed to yield hypothesized results, our independent variable cannot be said to have adequate predictive validity.

In retrospect, many shortcomings may be attributed to the priming manipulation. To begin with, the idea of using the concept of gourmet food may not have been the most effective prime to invoke while viewing an ad for gourmet coffee. Also, the extra mental effort required by subjects to process the verbal and visual primes were not equated across both conditions. That is, subjects in the non-primed condition did not get other stimulus material to balance the amount of mental effort. Therefore, subjects in the primed conditions were subjected to a greater amount of stimulus to process. This perhaps resulted in the lower score on ad memory by primed subjects. Instead of aiding memory, the priming manipulation in this experiment seemed to have hindered processing of ad content.

In sum, the problems with the priming variable are of sufficient magnitude as to require renewed investigation with better experimental designs before making conclusions about H4, H5, and H6.

Post-Exposure Arousal Measure

Seven minutes were allotted for subjects to review the online material. The *Washington Post* page used in this experiment included very brief headlines and lead paragraphs for each story or item displayed. Most of the items included embedded links for allowing readers to pursue further information on the story if desired. However, in order to limit potential variations in exposure, these links were deactivated for our study. All of the experimental front page material could be read, but perhaps not studied, in a much shorter period of time.

The post-exposure SAM scale was administered after allowing all subjects to spend seven minutes on the website. By this time, many subjects may have become bored or frustrated with repeated review of the dead-end lead items on the page. This is perhaps the reason for negative scores on the SAM differential (computed by subtracting pre-exposure arousal scores from post-exposure scores).

Although this limitation does not pose a threat to the validity of the interaction inference, future studies would likely benefit by administering the SAM scale more promptly, i.e., immediately after subjects peruse the website.

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Considerations for Future Research

In retrospect, it is worth questioning whether content recall, while perhaps useful for testing theoretical constructs, is a meaningful measure of advertising effectiveness within the context of the WWW. The web equivalent of print space advertising is the initial presentation as would appear in the margins of on-line news service sites, for example. These initial unrequested ads merely serve as enticements for users to click on the ad, thereby requesting more involvement with the advertiser. Users then are provided with additional information or specific offers, often after progressing through several layers of presentation. When evaluating the effectiveness of initial panels in an ad chain, the response of interest to the advertiser is more likely behavioral (i.e. did the user click on the ad) than cognitive (i.e. did the user remember my offer). Depending on the nature of the product or service advertised, deeper layers (those presented after the initial response by the user) may have different criteria for success (i.e. did the user place an order; was the user favorably impressed with our company's presence; was the information clear and concise; etc.). As different levels may have different goals, animation or other formal attributes of the presentation may operate differently at different levels in the chain. What serves as an enticement to click at the initial level may turn out to be a detrimental distraction at another level.

The effects of the tradeoff between animated presentation and network performance caused by the higher bandwidth demands of enhanced graphical presentations remains a valid area of study with potential for practical application in web site design. In our study, the two were inadvertently co-mingled. The web community in general is aware of the limitations of shared network resources. Nevertheless, trading performance for animated and graphics-intensive presentations occurs with ever-increasing frequency on the WWW, as companies and individuals compete for the attention of apparently jaded web surfers. Future studies that isolate these effects could help determine the nature of the tradeoff, both in terms of end-user perceptions and advertising efficacy.

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Protecting the Children:
A Comparative Analysis
Of French and American
Advertising Self-Regulation

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Protecting the Children: A Comparative Analysis of French and American Advertising Self-Regulation

Abstract

This paper compares advertising self-regulations designed to protect children in the United States and France. The findings suggest that French children enjoy greater protection, and the authors question whether American children should not be entitled to the same level of protection.

Introduction

A French automobile tire manufacturer runs an advertising campaign in the United States that features infants and toddlers floating about on the tires in rainy and snowy conditions. An adult voice-over appeals to viewers' fears about safety for their children while traveling in hazardous conditions. Ironically, this commercial could not air in the manufacturer's own country because it features children in advertising for a product that they themselves would not buy, and it depicts children outside the surroundings of their everyday lives.

That children in their role as consumers deserve special protection from overzealous and sometimes manipulative advertisers generally goes unquestioned today in the United States and in many Western European countries. However, the notion that it may be exploitative to use children as spokespersons or as images in commercials for products not directly related to them is more a European idea than an American one.

Purpose

The International Advertising Association has spent several decades trying to foster a greater understanding of the national differences in advertising self-regulation in order to promote the "internationalization of advertising regulation" (Stridsberg, 1974, p.38). Numerous surveys have been conducted by or in conjunction with the IAA comparing guidelines. Finally, some 23 years after the IAA's initial report suggested that further research was needed to examine substantive issues such as advertising to children such a study has been undertaken.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze and compare advertising self-regulations regarding children in the United States and in France. France was selected as the country for comparison because it has one of the most developed system of advertising self-regulation in Western Europe (Baudot, p. 13). Furthermore, France is a leader in the European Advertising Standards Alliance, and its regulations are often used as a model by other European countries. By making the comparison, the authors hope to re-open the discussion about regulations protecting children and bring to the forefront some potential areas of protection that have been ignored in the United States.

Data

Data for this paper come from (1) examination of the National Advertising Division's (NAD) Children Advertising Review Unit (CARU) advertising guidelines and all cases involving children reported by CARU in 1994 and 1995, (2) examination (and translation) of all mentions of children in the French *Bureau de Vérification de la Publicité's Le Recueil des Recommandations* and all cases involving children reported in 1994 and 1995 in the *BVP Echo*, the newsletter of the BVP.

Protecting Children in the United States

The belief that children deserve special protection from advertisers is fairly new in the United States. The earliest media codes in the United States saw a need to protect children from certain types of programming, but advertising directed to children drew no special attention. For example, The Radio Code, established in 1937, noted that programming should contribute to the healthy development of personality and character, that depiction of conflict and material reflective of sexual considerations should be handled with sensitivity, and that programming should convey a reasonable range of the realities that exist in the world to help children make the transition to adulthood.

The one mention regarding children and promotion cautioned that "programming should avoid appeals urging children to purchase the product specifically for the purpose of keeping the program on the air or which, for any reasons, encourage children to enter inappropriate places" (Radio Code, 1937). Direct appeals to children to buy products, to encourage children to ask their parents to buy the product for them, or phrases such as "mother will be glad to have you fix...all you want" (Radio transcript, 1940) were not considered problematic.

After 1950, American society's perception of children changed so that they came to be seen as distinct individuals with rights, opinions, and the power to purchase. Seeing this change as a golden opportunity, advertisers began to target children more heavily as a market (Alexander, 1993). With this increase in advertising directed toward children came an increase in public policy concerns about the effects such practices might have. In his book, *A Bibliography of Research and Writings on Marketing and Advertising to Children* (1991), McNeal writes, "Prior to 1960, there was hardly anything written on the subject of children's consumer behavior. Throughout the 1960s, interest in the topic of children as a market continued at a low level." With the exception of a slight drop-off in the early 1980s, children and advertising have become an increasingly popular topic for scholars and laypeople alike.

Most of the research has focused on children as recipients of advertising messages rather than as participants. One notable exception is the handful of studies that have looked at gender stereotypes of children in toy advertising (Ungar, 1982; O'Kelly, 1974). Not surprisingly, such studies generally have found that advertising reinforces society's traditional sex-role stereotypes.

Recognizing that children deserve protection beyond that afforded to adults was firmly established in the United States by 1974 when the National Advertising Division of the Council of Better Business Bureaus (CBBB) formed the Children's Advertising Review Unit (CARU) to "promote truthful, accurate advertising to children which is sensitive to the special nature of its audience" (CBBB, 1993, Section 2.801). In its *Do's and Don'ts in Advertising* the CBBB explains that "children are not simply little adults. Because their view and understanding of the world is different from that of adults, and their experience in the marketplace is limited, important considerations must be taken into account when communicating advertising messages to children" (CBBB, 1993, Section 2.801).

CARU regulates advertising directed toward children in three basic ways: providing guidelines, offering advice to those who seek it, and monitoring media and investigating complaints. CARU informs advertisers of questionable practices by publishing and updating its *Self-Regulatory Guidelines for Children's Advertising*. In addition to the guidelines, CARU reports all case decisions monthly in the *NAD Case Reports*, which includes the *CARU Activity Report* summarizing inquiries, prescreening submissions, and commentaries.

CARU's Academic Advisory panel, made up of academics distinguished in the fields of child development, nutrition, and children and the media, offers general guidance to advertisers and advertising agencies regarding issues concerning children's advertising. Furthermore, CARU will prescreen storyboards or videotapes of proposed advertising to see that it meets the CARU guidelines. Still, CARU does not prescreen all advertising and, therefore, must rely on networks to do so or wait until after an advertisement has aired or been published to determine if it is questionable.

CARU enforces its guidelines primarily through its own systematic monitoring of cable and broadcast television, radio, children's magazines, and comic books. Other advertisers and the concerned public can also bring complaints to CARU for review. When advertising is found to be questionable, the advertiser is notified and given five days to substantiate its claims or ten days to modify the advertising before a formal case is opened. An advertiser who disagrees with CARU's decision can appeal to the National Advertising Review Board (NARB), a peer-review panel composed of members affiliated either with advertisers, agencies, or the public. Finally, if a case is deemed to violate the law or if the advertiser fails to respond to CARU's decision, the case may be turned over to the appropriate government agency.

Protecting Children in France

At what age does a child become an adult? In the United States, CARU regulations apply to children ages 12 and under. The International Chamber of Commerce, however, in its advertising code defines a child, or minor, as one under the age of 14. Most European countries have used this definition in their codes. In some areas of product regulation such as with tobacco and alcohol, a child is often defined as one under age 18. France uses the ICC Code definition of 14 or under.

French advertising self-regulation dates to 1902 with the creation of *la Corporation des techniciens de la publicité* and to 1905 with the creation of the parallel *la Chambre syndicale de la publicité*. These two organizations merged in 1934 to create the *Fédération française de la publicité*. In 1935 French advertisers formed the BVP, an organization created to "purify" advertising practice. The association's original name was *Office de Contrôle des Annonces* and it cited three objectives: (1) assuring the sincerity of advertising, (2) informing print media about misleading advertisements (*les annonces trompeuses*) that had appeared in print, and (3) rendering advice on the morality and legality of advertising projects submitted to it. (Greffe and Greffe, 1995).

In 1953 it changed its name to *le Bureau de Vérification de la Publicité* and its charter to include "leading in the interest of public respect actions in favor of advertising that was fair, truthful, and beneficial (*loyale, véridique et saine*).

Today BVP membership is made up advertisers, advertising agencies, media, and related organizations. It regulates advertising in five ways: (1) issuing guidelines (much like the Better Business Bureau's *Do's and Don'ts in Advertising Copy*), which are based on interpretations of French law or industry codes (*déontologie*), (2) offering legal advice when requested by advertisers and agencies, (3) monitoring claims in newspapers, radio, movie theatre, and poster advertising (much like the monitoring function of the Federal Trade Commission and the NARB), (4) reviewing all television commercials before they are aired (much like the network television clearance process in the United States), and (5) receiving and investigating consumers' and competitors' complaints about specific advertising. The CARU and the BVP operate in very similar fashion. There are, however, three notable differences. First, the BVP is empowered to enforce various industry codes, which CARU is not. For example, BVP enforces the French Automobile Advertising Code that prohibits emphasizing vehicular speed in a commercial. Second, the BVP serves, at the government's request, as the official clearance agency for all television advertising; and third, BVP offers legal advice to its members. Table I summarizes the similarities in the operating procedures of CARU and BVP.

Table I: Comparison of CARU and BVP Procedures

Activity	CARU	BVP
Issues Guidelines	Yes	Yes
Offers legal advice	No	Yes
Monitors advertising	Yes	Yes
Will review advertising before production	Yes	Yes
Approves advertising before airing on television	No	Yes
Receives and investigates consumers' and competitors' complaints	Yes	Yes
If unsuccessful in negotiations with advertiser, refers case to government body	Yes	Yes
Publicizes decisions	Yes	Yes, but often without advertiser's name. Considers brand mention as publicity for advertiser.
Specific regulations for children	Yes	Yes

The French government did not allow brand advertising on television until 1968. For that reason, French regulations providing special protection for children from advertising came much later than in the United States. The first French regulations dealing specifically with children, *L'article 6 du décret du 26 janvier 1987*, prohibited children and adolescents from being spokespersons for products or services in advertising and forbade their being principal actors in commercials unless there was a direct relationship between them and the advertised product. In addition, the 1987 law forbade advertising generally from exploiting the inexperience or credulity of children and adolescents. The BVP immediately included the provisions of the law in its *Recommandations*. In 1989, the BVP added recommendations prohibiting direct appeals to children to buy the product (although it later explained that appeals to children are acceptable when the product, such as a toy, is within the child's field of knowledge), appeals to children to persuade their parents or friends to buy a product, or appeals that undermine the trust relationship between children and their parents, their teachers, or other persons. Despite its later development, French law and self-regulation are more protective of children than is the case in the United States.

Regulated Areas

Table II summarizes the areas where both countries have regulations in place and areas unique to each country. Self-regulations in both countries generally prohibit misleading descriptions and representations about what is offered and how a product performs. Both, for example, insist that the actual size of the product be indicated, that items to be purchased separately must be indicated as such, that the need for batteries be stated, that any product assembly be noted, that appropriate age groups be shown using the product, and that the product and what is being advertised not be misrepresented in any way.

In addition, both countries prohibit suggestions that owning the advertised product will make the child superior in any way, advertising that would challenge parents' authority or judgment, or messages that encourage children to ask their parents to buy the product for them. For example, a 1994 CARU decision against Kenner Products' Nerf weapon series cited the company for promoting anti-social behavior and encouraging the notion that possession of a toy leads to superiority. A commercial aired during children's programming featured a "spokes kid" saying "Face it! You're at one end of Nerf or the other" as a group of other children begin firing on a child who is without a Nerf weapon. This unarmed child runs away as the others continue playing among themselves. The commercial ends with the group of kids staring into a garbage can, presumably at the unarmed child, as the spokes kid says, "Don't ya get it? It's Nerf or Nothin!" (NAD Case Reports, 1994, pp.23-24).

CARU ruled that this commercial violated its guidelines against implying superiority of a child with the toy over one without and against misleading children as to the benefits of possessing the toy. As the case report explained, "In the commercial the clear message is that if you don't have a Nerf weapon you will be excluded rather than accepted ... In fact, in this commercial, the import of the "Nerf or Nothin!" tag line seems to have evolved from meaning if you don't have Nerf you *have* nothing, to meaning if you don't have Nerf you *are* nothing" (NAD Case Reports, 1994, p.24). Because the advertising flight had ended by the time CARU's decision was made, Kenner Products was not forced to take action. However, CARU stressed that subsequent advertising should be modified to avoid the promotion of anti-social behavior among children.

Both countries require that children not be shown engaging in unsafe practices and activities or that children be shown in dangerous situations. The French *Code de la Route* (highway safety law), for example, requires that motorcyclist wear safety helmets; similarly, any depictions of motorcyclists in French advertising must show them wearing helmets. Likewise, children under the age of 10 must use specified security systems inside automobiles, and when shown in advertising, the security systems must be in use. The BVP sought and accomplished a change in a print ad that showed a young child strapped into a child's safety seat but only a seat belt was used. The French regulations require that shoulder harnesses be

Table II: Common and Unique Areas of Regulation

Areas Common to France and the U.S.	Areas Unique to France	Areas Unique to United States
Advertising to children MUST: • Clearly indicate actual product size • Clearly indicate the knowledge/maturity level that is appropriate for product use • Identify items that are to be purchased separately • Note if batteries are included • State that assembly is required • Demonstrate proper, safe use of the product **Advertising to children MUST NOT:** • Misrepresent the size, speed, or durability of the product • Imply that children possessing the advertised product are, in any way, superior • Challenge parents' authority or judgment • Not encourage children to pressure parents	• Advertising for pornographic films can not appear in theatres or media where children likely to see the advertisement • Advertising for any product that encourages purchasing through the mail or on credit or any advertising that features a toll call to get information • Children may not appear in alcoholic beverage advertising • Children may not say the brand name of the product • Children may not appear as principal actor in a commercial for which they have no direct knowledge or use of the product • Children under age 3 may not be shown eating the advertised product • Telephone sales calls may not be directed to children.	• The use of program tie-ins or program characters in advertising during the character's show is prohibited. • The use of fantasy must not exploit the imaginations of children. • Advertising for medicines and vitamins should not be directed toward children. • Advertising of food must promote healthful eating habits. • The use of premiums, kids' clubs, sweepstakes and teleprograms is limited. • Advertising should avoid excessive violence. • Advertising should avoid representations of "bad manners" and promote positive social behavior.

used, and the advertiser re-shot the photograph to comply with the regulation (*Protegeons les enfants de la pub!* 1996).

Regulations unique to France. French regulation prohibits showing a child of less than age 3 consuming the advertised product. The reasoning is that such depictions may give the impression that the advertised product provides the nutritional elements and nourishment that children under this age need.

Children in commercials are not permitted to say the brand name of the product, and it is suggested that children not appear in clothing that has the initials or colors of the advertised product. However, adolescents older than age 16 and who would be perceived as such may appear as principal actors in commercials and may make recommendations in the commercial.

Television commercials may not encourage children to call toll numbers but may include a toll-free number (*numero verte*). Alcoholic-beverage advertising, which is banned from television, may not appear in publications specifically aimed at children, and ads may not show children consuming alcohol or invite consumption of the product.

Regulations unique to the United States. Because advertising in the United States is aired throughout the programming, as opposed to French advertising which occurs in blocks between programs, American regulations prohibit the use of program characters in a commercial within their own program. Title characters cannot be used in ads within their own print publication. These regulations are meant to protect children who have difficulty distinguishing programming from advertising. Similarly, children are thought to have greater difficulty distinguishing reality from the imaginary. Therefore, advertisers are cautioned to use fantasy carefully, avoiding unrealistic expectations of product performance.

Products considered inappropriate for children such as medications and vitamins should not be advertised to children. When directing food advertising to children, advertisers must avoid promoting poor eating habits. Products must be shown within the framework of a balanced diet. Advertisements must not suggest that one food can supply all the necessary nutrients of a well-balanced meal and must not suggest over-consumption of the product.

American advertising self-regulations allow the use of premiums, sweepstakes, and other promotions when targeting children but offer some guidelines. Premium offers must be secondary to the product message and conditions for receiving the premium must be clearly stated in terms a child can understand. Kid's clubs are to be distinguished from simple premium offers by the fact that membership is interactive, continuous, and exclusive. Sweepstakes must clearly state, in terms understandable to a child, the chances of winning and offer prizes appropriate to children.

Teleprograms directed to children are allowed but are required to: emphasize that parents must okay any telephone calls; state that children will hear a message about the Easter Bunny, rock star, etc. rather than actually speak to the character; consist of self-contained story lines without cliff hangers or references to other products or teleprograms.

Summary

As advertisers in the latter half of this century began to identify children as potential markets, governments and self-regulatory bodies in the United States and France began to implement policies to protect children from excessive manipulation by advertisers. The thrust of the American regulation came about in the early 1970s and the thrust of the French regulation occurred in the late 1980s.

Today both American and French self-regulatory bodies have in place a number of policies designed to protect children as consumers. The two countries are concerned about how products are described and shown in advertising. But unlike American policy, French self-regulations have extended to areas of children's appearance in commercials. While the United States bans the use of children in commercials for medical products intended for adults, France prohibits using children as principal actors in advertising for any product for which there is not a direct relationship between the product and the everyday life of the child. Thus, while the United States protects children as consumers, France protects children not only as consumers but also as actors in commercials.

Conclusion: Do American Children Deserve Greater Protection?

Controversy ensued when Calvin Klein launched his summer 1995 campaign for CK jeans featuring teens in poses many found suggestive of child pornography. But because American self-regulations fail to address age-inappropriate uses of children and completely ignore adolescents, there was no basis for censuring Klein's advertising. Compare this to the European treatment of Klein's 1994 Obsession for Men campaign featuring waif-like Kate Moss lying naked on a sofa. Calling the advertising inappropriate and irresponsible, the British Advertising Standards Authority demanded that the ad be pulled, not because the 20 year-old model was naked but because she resembled a child. The ASA's decision was later adopted by the BVP.

As this example and the review of French self-regulation pertaining to children demonstrates, Europeans tend to afford greater protection to their young from commercial exploitation than Americans do. We can learn from France's example and should consider areas for improvement in the existing system. It is not enough to concern ourselves with marketing to children, we must also avoid exploiting children in order to sell products. Too often the fragile bond between child and parent is preyed upon in order to sell everything from life insurance to tires. Such emotional manipulation is impossible in France where children cannot be featured in advertising for products not directly related to children.

French self-regulation has the additional advantage of requiring that all television advertising, including that directed toward children, be prescreened. CARU, on the other hand, relies on the networks, which have a financial stake in approving advertising, to prescreen children's advertising. Commercials placed on cable channels are likely to avoid screening altogether. As seen in the example of Kenner Products' Nerf weapons series, by the time CARU discovered the problematic commercial and decided that the it violated children's advertising guidelines the campaign had run its course. Greater cooperation is needed between the media and CARU if guidelines are to be enforced. If it is unrealistic to expect networks to refuse profitable advertising even if it violates guidelines, then perhaps the responsibility should be turned over to CARU.

By restricting how children appear and what use is made of them in commercials, the U.S. advertising industry could help to improve its own image at home. Children would no longer be used to hawk everything from dishwashers in network spots to "My daddy's used car lot" in local television spots. No longer would tots belt out over the airwaves "My bologna has a first name...." and the industry might get closer to something stated long ago by CARU: Children are not simply little adults.

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What's happening to you these days? Having lots of fun? Believe me, I know some folks that are into some fun--those early bird friends of Annie who've already sent for their new 1940 model Orphan Annie Shake-Up Mugs. You know all of Annie's friends who drink sweet chocolate-flavored Ovaltine can get these swell new shake-up mugs free, and, boy, are they beauties! Wait til you see 'em! They're made of genuine vitaware in brand new colors, a beautiful deep green and a bright flashing scarlet and every mug has a big colored picture of Orphan Annie and her dog, Sandy, right on the front. Now don't forget, this shaker-upper is a two-in-one gift. When you put the top on, it makes a keen shaker for mixing your ice cold chocolate-flavored Ovaltine shake-up. And then when you take the bright red top off, presto, the shaker turns into a swell big drinking mug. Holding a creamy bubbly shake-up all ready for you to drink. Man alive, what fun you'll have with that new shaker-upper. Playing a shake-up game

> *with your friends and having shake- up parties--making a picnic out of every meal this summer. Think of having a delicious ice cold shake-up drink anytime you want it made with fresh cold milk and sweet chocolate flavored Ovaltine. Mmmm, what a treat on a warm summer day! And, of course,* ***mother will be glad to have you fix all the shake-ups you want*** *because she knows how much extra pep and energy food there is in every single Ovaltine shake-up. Loads of extra vitamins, minerals and other things every body needs to be healthy and husky the way we all want to be. So here's the thing, Annie wants all her friends to have one of these swell new 1940 model shake-up mugs. And you want to get one, I know, especially when Annie has fixed it so that fellows and girls who drink Ovaltine can get one absolutely free even though our regular price is 50 cents. So listen closely, here's what to do. Simply sit down after tonight's adventure and print your name and address plainly on a piece of paper, send it in along with the thin metal foil seal from under the lid of a can of sweet chocolate- flavored Ovaltine. Mail it to Orphan Annie, Chicago, IL and she'll send you your new 1940 model shake-up mug absolutely free. Now don't put it off, will ya. Ask mother to get you a can of sweet chocolate-flavored Ovaltine right now and send in that seal for your free shake-up mug tonight. Mail it to Orphan Annie, Chicago, IL. I'm sorry but she can offer this wonderful shake-up mug only to you and your friends in the United States. But if you do live in the United States, send in tonight.*

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Applying Integrated Marketing Communications Strategy to Strategic Market Planning: Implications for the Role of Communications in Building and Maintaining Brand Equity

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Applying Integrated Marketing Communications Strategy to Strategic Market Planning: Implications for the Role of Communications in Building and Maintaining Brand Equity

Abstract

This article links the integrated marketing communications (IMC) concept to the planning process in marketing. As the integration of messages and media, IMC strategy is applied to an established strategic market planning model, the Boston Consulting Group (BCG)'s growth-share matrix. Alternative portfolio strategies are identified from the product portfolio analysis. The view may also be thought as the on-going process of building and maintaining consumer brand equity. Conceptual findings are expected to help marketers think more strategically as they plan IMC programs for their products and services.

Applying Integrated Marketing Communications Strategy to Strategic Market Planning: Implications for the Role of Communications in Building and Maintaining Brand Equity

Marketing in the 1990s is communication and communication is marketing.

Don E. Schultz

The concept of integrated marketing communications (IMC) has become widely accepted among practitioners and academicians in both fields of marketing and mass communication, e.g., advertising, public relations. The IMC idea is to strategically coordinate all sources of information regarding a product or service in order to optimize the impact of these communications tools on target audiences (Duncan & Caywood, 1996; Thorson & Moore, 1996). It is the combination of all marketing communications efforts in an integrated way to maximize communication effects. For this integration to occur, marketing and communications functions must be strategically worked together for the organization to become integrated (Schultz, Tannenbaum, & Lauterborn, 1993). From a strategic planning perspective, when marketers create plans for their products and services, IMC should be simultaneously considered an integral part of their marketing plan. Research on the "orchestration" of these elements is limited. There are many conceptual papers but a few have actually gathered and analyzed data on this topic. The lack of research stems partially from lack of a theoretical perspective.

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate to develop a theoretical perspective for this research as well as illustrate how IMC might be used within the strategic marketing planning area. According to Bell (1982), the product portfolio approach has been well-accepted. Specifically, the well-known Boston Consulting Group (BCG)'s growth-share matrix is used as the product portfolio framework. The integration of IMC and the product portfolio approach also has implications for the role of communications in creating and maintaining brand equity (Biel, 1993; Keller, 1996).

IMC Principles

There are a variety of definitions of IMC. These conceptualizations fall into three primary perspectives: (1) the audience perspective, (2) integration of messages and media, and (3) evaluation of outcomes (Cathey & Schumann, 1996). The integration of messages and media is the one used most often. This perspective focuses on contact points at which a consumer is exposed to information relating to a brand. Among advocates, Belch and Belch (1993) conceptualize IMC as the integration and coordination of all marketing and promotional efforts of a company, e.g., media advertisement, packaging, price, direct marketing, to take advantage of the synergy among them to project a consistent and unified image to the marketplace. In addition, the American Association of Advertising Agencies (4As) defines IMC as the planning activity that recognizes that added value of a comprehensive plan that evaluates the strategic roles of various communications vehicles and combine them to provide clarity, consistency, and maximum communication impact (Schultz, 1993a).

From this perspective, integration requires maintaining a clear and consistent image, position, message, and theme across all marketing communications tools. This has been named one voice marketing communications (Nowak & Phelps, 1994; Phelps, Plumley, & Johnson, 1994). A single positioning (one voice) concept for a brand is decided at the beginning of a marketing and communications planning process. When planning the specific actions to take, communications tools are typically utilized to achieve integrated objectives. Examples of these communications tools are shown in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

Fundamental IMC Tools: Advertising, Public Relations, and Sales Promotion

From an integrated approach, advertising serves to create, build, or maintain a long term image for a brand, and it may sometimes generate quick sales if the campaign has the high impact. Advertising is generally used to reach numerous groups of consumers in various geographical areas with a lower cost when compared with other types of communications. Besides, it allows a message to be repeated (frequency).

In recent years, public relations become another type of marketing communications that marketers have talked about and included it as one of the effective marketing tools to reach target markets and public as well. Public relations permits a product or a company to utilize a source credibility through media to persuade consumers and public. At the same time, it can be used to reach other group of people or prospects that may not be accessible by advertising (Drobis, 1993). Finally, like advertising, public relations has a potential for dramatizing a brand or company (Kotler, 1994).

Sales promotion is usually used to capture the consumers' interest at the point of purchase and provide incentives for short-term behavior. It can create stronger and quicker sales than other types of marketing communications efforts. However, its effect mostly works in the short term and it may not be effective in the long-term brand building activities.

IMC Principles and Process

Haytko (1996) proposed that the basic principles for success in integrating marketing communications strategies are (1) coordination of talents and ideas of each tool, (2) consistency among both internal and external organization, and (3) complementarity of a proposed IMC campaign. Schultz and his colleagues (Schultz, 1993b; Schultz & Barnes, 1995; Schultz, Tannenbaum, & Lauterborn, 1993) suggested specific steps for integrating their marketing communications programs. First, the integration should start at the top management of a company because it has the authority to make a big change in the company. Second, the organization should be viewed from an outside-in approach; looking at integration from the consumer or prospect's view, rather than inside-out. Third, marketing and communications must have shared objectives, allowing communications to lead marketing activities when the company is responding to customers. Finally, Schultz (1994) brings the concept of return on investment (ROI) from a financial practice to measure the effectiveness of any IMC campaign.

Appropriate integrating marketing communications tools are needed to achieve stated objectives. These tools may be single tools, composites of multiple tools, multiple audiences, multiple stages, and a coordination mechanism (Deighton, 1996). The strategic planning process of IMC program should start with (1) identifying all target audiences relevant to the achievement of the product or service sales/marketing objectives, (2) segmenting the audiences on the basis of stage in the purchase decision cycle, (3) determining messages and communications tools to reach each segment of the targets, and (4) allocating resources to reach these targets (Moore & Thorson, 1996). In addition, from the strategic perspective, coordination of the messages and communications tools can be stressed in two different approaches. Executional integration concentrates on the consistency of communications messages (Petrison & Wang, 1996). Planning integration ensures that each type of tools is employed to its best effect (Petrison & Wang, 1996).

After integrating all the communications elements, and implementing them to the targets, managers need to evaluate the impact of the IMC campaign. Katz and Lendrevie (1996) propose an approach to measure IMC by examining different kinds of consumer exposure: media exposures, product impressions, and personal contacts. It sounds to be a new useful way to measure IMC effectiveness. In addition, Baldinger (1996), a researcher from the Advertising Research Foundation (ARF) utilizes the last three steps of the ARF six-stage model--recall, communication, and persuasion--to measure the impact of the IMC campaign. By modifying the Foote, Cone & Belding (FCB) grid and applying it with the result from his copy-testing research, the researcher comes up with the multiple measures of persuasion for the IMC campaign.

Brand Equity and IMC

From an individual consumer perspective, brand equity may be defined as "the differential effect that brand knowledge has on consumer response to the marketing of the brand" (Keller, 1996, p. 104). It is considered an essential concept for brand management nowadays. Brand equity is composed of brand awareness (brand recall and brand recognition) and brand image (strength, favorability, and uniqueness of brand associations). The roles of IMC in enhancing brand equity can be characterized into two parts. The first is to establish the brand in consumer's memory and link strong, favorable, and unique associations to it. Second, marketers can create consumer motivation, ability, and opportunity to process persuasive messages and retrieve brand information from memory when making a brand choice.

Building brand equity requires time and money. Consumers will feel and think about a brand after marketers spend their resources to advertise and promote the brand over a period of time. Theoretically, an IMC brand will develop equity even if the consumers does not try the brand. Companies must maintain consistency in their message and tone by integrating all their marketing communications in order to keep going and reinforce the brand image (Arens & Bovee, 1994). All marketing communications are considered a contribution to the brand building activities and a part of the long-term investment in the reputation of the brand (Biel, 1993).

Brand equity is the added value brought by a brand while brand image is described as the cluster of attributes and associations that consumers connect to the brand name (Biel, 1993). Keller (1991, p. 7) also defined brand image as "consumer perceptions about a brand as reflected by the brand associations that consumers hold in memory." Park, Jaworski, and MacInnis (1986) added that brand image is not a perceptual phenomenon affected by marketer's communication activities alone. Park et al. (1986, p. 135) extended that "[i]t is the understanding consumers derive from the total set of brand-related activities engaged in by the firm." Therefore, the equity of a brand is driven by brand image (Biel, 1993). Kirmani and Zeithaml (1993) reported that brand equity and brand image are highly related terms because marketers must attempt to influence consumer perceptions of a product or develop a positive brand image in order to build brand equity.

Besides direct and indirect personal experience to a brand, marketing communications is an essential source of image. It can manipulate the meanings linked with the brand. Marketing communications, e.g., advertising, also reflects and forms the brand image. It can generate awareness, letting consumers know the product exists, increasing the probability that the product would be included in the consumer's evoked sets, affecting perceived brand value, and creating an image that influences how consumers view the product (Cobb-Walgren, Ruble, & Donthu, 1995). In the consumer's mind, brand image is created through brand associations to the consumer relates the brand to other concepts both favorable and unfavorable. The classic example is the "Marlboro man," a uniquely American warrior and a symbol of America's pioneering spirit. It has been used in Marlboro advertising for almost 40 years. This shows that the brand is the expression of products and it will exist only through communications. Marketing communications, in general, plays a vital role in maintaining and enhancing the value of the brand in the long term.

Since brand equity at the consumer's level deals with associations in the mind of consumer (Keller, 1991; Srivastava & Shocker, 1991), marketing communications can influence brand equity in two ways (Edell, 1993). First, communications can influence consumer's brand attitude, an overall evaluation to the brand measured as the sum of multiple evaluation scales regarding the advertised product. Specifically, it can enhance positive evaluation and attitudes (Farquhar, 1989). Second, communications can influence brand equity by influencing a consumer's memory structure for a brand. If the brand can be immediately retrieved from the consumer's memory, it shows a highly accessible association between advertising and the brand. In other words, it is the value of brand equity (Edell, 1993; Herr & Fazio, 1993).

Product Portfolio Management

Generally, the objective of tools developed for strategic market planning is to help a company select and organize its businesses in a way that can make profits for the company in the long run. Among the techniques, a portfolio matrix has been the popular one since it can be initiated by using any pair of indicators to compare strategic positions of a company's businesses. One of the best known portfolio techniques is the growth-share matrix developed in the late 1970s by the Boston Consulting Group (BCG), a leading management consulting company. This approach has later been used among marketing practitioners, and widely described in the literature both journals (e.g., Day, 1977; Hedley, 1977), and strategic management and market planning textbooks (e.g., Abell & Hammond, 1979; Kotler, 1994; Thompson & Strickland, 1993). The BCG's product portfolio matrix is basically a two-dimensional display comparing the strategic positions of a company's diversified business investments (Thompson & Strickland, 1993). The matrix allows business and marketing strategists to develop plans which reflect the need of each unit of business and business as a whole (Bell, 1982). This perspective should also have an impact on planning the integrated marketing communications for each unit in the company.

Figure 1 shows the growth-share matrix for a company which has four strategic business units (SBUs)--A, B, C, and D. They represent company brands or product lines. The position of each business unit, or brand or product line, is plotted on the basis of its market growth rate (high or low) and relative market share (high or low). Market growth rate, along the vertical axis, indicates the annual growth rate of the industry. A middle range of market growth rate is about 10 percent (Abell & Hammond, 1979). Relative market share, along the horizontal axis, is a ratio of a business's market share to market share of the leader in that industry. It can be divided into high and low relative market share by using 1.0 as the middle line (Abell & Hammond, 1979).

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

IMC Strategy and Product Portfolio Management

Product portfolio management enhances the application of IMC strategy and provides a framework for research on the integration of IMC with marketing and other sales efforts. IMC strategy, i.e., advertising, public relations, and sales promotion, can be developed according to the cell in which the brand rests. In other words, one can generalize the integrated marketing communications strategy from each matrix position shown in Figure 1 (A, B, C, and D). Likewise, one could infer that a company is using IMC if its strategies fit what would be expected for the location of its brand(s). Table 2 presents the natures of each brand or business unit, overall marketing strategy for each situation, IMC strategy composed of advertising, public relations, and sales promotion, and stages in brand building.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

Problem Child. Problem child (A) is a business unit in the high growth market, but it has relatively low market share. Although the business in this stage has little market share, it has a potential to become profitable business since the growth rate in this market is high and there is a few competitors in the market. The problem child business generates low cash flow and low profit margin, and it needs more investment to push the business to survive or move it to another stage. Typically, innovations or new products for any company may fall into this situation.

Therefore, to respond to the marketing objective in expanding a brand's market share to become a star, marketing communications efforts should be focused on investing in share building activities. Advertising is often the main strategy in creating brand awareness through mass media. Public relations activities, e.g., press conference, press release, may also help creating awareness among prospects and publics. In addition, sales promotion activities encourage trial, for examples, by giving free samples, coupons. Therefore, brand equity building may be created in the process through the communications activities that let consumers aware of, and have knowledge and experience toward the brand.

However, a challenge with a problem child is the shortage of the availability of funds to invest in IMC activities because the business has relatively low cash generated; nevertheless, it needs an intensive investment to move it (Bell, 1982). In addition, brand building activities does not have an immediate result; they have the long-term effect (Aaker, 1992). It may be hard to receive enough investment to put all the brands that the company has in this situation. Hence, some poor problem children may be divested.

Star. Star (B) indicates a growth brand, high market growth rate, and, high market share. A star position indicates an opportunity for high return on marketing investments. Such a brand should generate high sales and high margin. However, since it is in the market that has high growth rate, it need may need additional investments of cash to maintain a rate of growth consistent with the market. Such investments could include improved delivery, quality, product support, or price reduction (Abell & Hammond, 1979).

The marketing goals for a star are to hold the high market share that the company have had, and to build market share by attracting a new group of prospect users and increasing consumption of current users. Products that fall into this situation usually are new product forms, or new product line extensions (Bell, 1982).

For a star brand, IMC should concentrate on activities that facilitate share growth. The strategic focus of advertising and public relations is quite different from that of the problem child. Since the number of competitors in the market is likely growing rapidly, the star brand needs to protect market share as well as build share by differentiating itself from its competitors. Advertising and public relations can build image of the brand and company. Or to explain it in another way, value or equity of the brand is built through advertising and public relations. Sales promotions may also incorporate by creating preference among current users and enhancing trial among prospects.

Cash Cow. C or cash cow shows a brand with high market share in a stable market. In fact, the number of competitors in the market may even be beginning to decline. However, because a cash cow is established in the market, it can enjoy high margin and highly positive cash flow. A cash cow is considered the financial source for other business units in the same company. The brand in this stage itself needs relatively little investment to generate market share due to the low growth rate of the market.

Marketing strategy for a cash cow is to hold market share, and to maintain market dominance and strong cash flows. Since the market becomes more segmented, mass communication is less important (Bell, 1982). In the mature situation, the combination of IMC strategy is changed; the budget is reduced. To survive in the long run, the company must bring cash generated from the cash cow to invest in the stars and some problem children to make them move toward this stage. The sales of the current cash cow will decline and be deleted in the long run.

Trade advertising and sales promotion become more important than consumer advertising and public relations in help holding and maintaining the share (Bell, 1982). Trade advertising is intended to push more products to the retailers while sales promotion activities are used to increase brand switching among the brand's non-users. At the same time, consumer advertising and public relations are still needed to remind current consumers in order to keep them and maintain market share of the brand. Brand equity created in the first two steps may be needed to maintain here through advertising and public relations.

Dog. Dog (D) is a brand with low market share in a low growth market. Typically, a brand in this situation generates low profit margin and low positive cash flow. There is little need to invest in the market since it is the declining market; no more newcomers enter into the market. The number of competitors is also reduced. The appropriate marketing strategy is basically to harvest or liquidate the brand. However, in the other aspect, there may be an opportunity for the company to implement a niche strategy, focusing on a specific part of the market where the consumers have special needs that can be served (Bell, 1982).

If a marketer decides to remove the brand from the market, IMC will have a limited, if any, role. However, the marketer decides to try a niche strategy, the IMC budget will be minimized by the size of the niche group. Advertising, public relations, and sales promotion activities are needed to run, but in the limited area, media, budget, or size. Through an effective IMC, it may help maintaining niche consumers from the pressure to follow other consumers to switch to new brands. For instance, the marketers may use selective and insightful advertising to reassure and remind the consumers about the brand, and simultaneously employ public relations to retain the company image.

The value of the brand, or brand equity, in this stage becomes minimal; it needs to be maintain through the marketing activities, and/or may be needed to recreate to bring it back to be alive again. Otherwise, it will die finally.

Discussion

Product Portfolio Strategies

From the applications of IMC strategy to various types of situations which have different levels of market growth rate and relative market share, a company may have all business units or brands in each of the cells as shown in Figure 2. The company should have one or more cash cows (C1 and/or C2) that can generate enough cash to support stars and problem children. The company makes strive to move a successful problem child (A1) to a star, and removes an unsuccessful problem child (A2) from the market. A star that can build its market share (B1) would be moved to a cash cow. If not, a failed star (B2) becomes a dog. Some dogs may be capable to compete in a niche market (D1) while the other is ultimately withdrawn from a market (D2). The strategic planning process is to develop the right portfolio which combines the right combination of risk and return, assures the growth of the company, and let the company survive in the long term (Abell & Hammond, 1979).

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

The implications for product portfolio planning approach has strong implications for IMC planning because each type of branded products dictates different IMC strategies. Each position in a cell needs an IMC strategy unique to that position. One IMC strategy is unlikely to be appropriate for all company brands. Likewise, one global IMC strategy will be inefficient and ineffective for company with brands in different locations within the product portfolio grid.

Predicting Future IMC Strategies

The previous discussion leads to the next point. The product portfolio analysis may be useful to anticipate the kinds of IMC strategy which will be utilized in the future (Bell, 1982). Each business unit will move through all the four cells over time. However, market situations may not be as expected. Figure 3 shows the possible movement of business units in the matrix.

[Insert Figure 3 about here]

A problem child, A1, may be predicted to move to A2. However, it is still a problem child brand, i.e., a new product. The marketing goal is to increase market share in a growing market. The IMC strategy used may be to increase trial among competitive users and new customers. In another situation, a star business (B1) may fall back to become a problem child (A3) because of some marketing problems, e.g., improper positioning, poor pricing, lack of distribution, or competitive efforts. Once problems are fixed, the proper IMC effort would be to correct consumer perceptions that led to the brand decline, thereby increasing sales to current customers and/or competitive customers.

Likewise, if the problem is competitive efforts, the IMC strategy would be to support the counter efforts.

In addition, the position change from A1 to D1 indicates that a brand moved from a problem child to a dog without ever becoming a cash cow. Niche strategy would be appropriate for this situation. The movement from either a problem child (A1) or a star (B1) to a divested dog (D2) reflects the intention to withdraw the brand from the market.

Added to the previous implication, Figure 3 recommends that it is not a simple IMC strategy for each cell that a business unit is in. Different IMC strategies may be planned and employed in different business units, though they are in the same cell position. These imply that the effect of integrated marketing communications strategy is in the long term.

Competitive Analysis. Another implication of applying the IMC strategy to the product portfolio analysis is to try to position major competitors of the business units on the matrix (Bell, 1982). The purpose is to predict the future strategic movement of the competitors in order to develop strategies to counteract or inoculate against these efforts. However, it may be somewhat difficult to plot the competitors' positions along the two dimensions without complete and accurate competitive information.

Implications for Brand Equity Building

The last implication regarding the relationship between IMC concept and strategic market planning is thought as the on-going process of brand building activities (Maltz, 1991). The IMC practices, i.e., advertising, public relations, and sales promotion, represent the communications role which help change the consumer's brand attitude and memory structure while the activities have changed and moved along the cells in the matrix. Starting as a problem child, brand value is in the nurture step. Investments must be made in marketing communications to build a strong brand. As a star, the brand gains more awareness and preference through communications from consumers; it should finally become a strong brand. In other words, the brand has equity. In the next step, a cash cow, an established brand in consumer's mind, should be maintained its equity by utilizing IMC tools to reinforce and remind the consumers about the brand, and differentiate the brand from its competitors. Finally, in the dog situation, communications may have no role to play if the marketers delete the brand from the market. However, in the choice of niche market, IMC still has the minimal role in keep maintaining the brand equity to its niche consumers.

Limitations

Although the author conceptualizes the application of IMC strategy to the BCG's share-growth matrix in the general way, its implication may be limited. First, from the IMC definition as the integration of messages and media, the author proposes IMC as advertising, public relations, and sales promotion activities which are played around in the matrix. They sound to have a good fit with most of general consumer products in markets. It, however, may not be useful to apply the findings to some industrial products in which advertising or sales promotion are not the important tools to market the products. Personal selling is needed to be concerned instead.

The second point that the author wants to make here is about the role of IMC in the strategic market planning. Though communications is mainly mentioned in the current study as a key to apply to the planning process, it does not stand alone. One must think of integrated marketing communications as one factor in the marketing programs or strategies for a brand. Other factors that might influence the brand or business unit are, for example, the quality of the product, packaging design, the pricing strategy used, and the efficiency of the distribution system. IMC cannot perform correctly or effectively without those actions provided in the appropriate shapes.

Since this article is intended as an exploratory link between IMC strategy and market planning, the author does not include some particular points toward the planning process. Future research may be needed to explore the difference in the IMC strategy between the low and high information processing that consumers have held in their minds regarding kinds of products and services (Vaughn, 1980, 1986). Or, the levels of competitions in the market may also be needed to elaborate to separate between the IMC efforts for low and high competitive situations in each cell of the matrix.

Conclusion

From the conceptualization of IMC as the integration of messages and media, the author applies the concept to the product portfolio management. What have been shown from the applications are the generalization idea of IMC strategy for each cell position of the portfolio matrix, the portfolio strategies for a company, the anticipation for future strategies of various business units in the matrix, the prediction for competitor's IMC strategies, and the understanding of brand building process by referring to the role of communications. These conceptual findings should help marketers to think more strategically regarding integrated marketing communications programs for any products or services than think tactically. In other words, the decisions would be concerned with the long-term opportunities for brands or business units (e.g., share growth, share holding) rather than appeals or execution.

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Table 1. Examples of Marketing Communications Tools

ADVERTISING	PUBLIC RELATIONS	SALES PROMOTIONS
Print advertisements	Crisis communications	Sampling
Broadcast advertisements	Lobbying	Couponing
Outdoor advertisements	Community relations	Premiums
Transit advertisements	Charitable donations	Contests, sweepstakes
On-line advertisements	Sponsorships	Rebates
Direct mail advertisements	Special events	Demonstrations
Motion pictures	Publications	Trading stamps
Packaging	Seminars	Combination offers
Brochures and booklets	Speeches	Exhibits
Posters, leaflets	Annual reports	Entertainment
Display signs	Company magazine	Allowances
Point-of-purchase displays	Fund raising	Fair shows, trade shows
Directories	Publicity	Trade deals
Free standing inserts	Press conferences	Testimonials
Retail store advertisements	Press kits	Cooperative advertisements
Symbols, logos	Research	Financial incentives

Table 2. Business Units and Related IMC Strategy

Business Unit	**Problem Child (A)**	**Star (B)**	**Cash Cow (C)**	**Dog (D)**
Market Growth Rate	High	High	Low	Low
Relative Market Share	Low	High	High	Low
Number of Brands in the Market	Few	Growing number	Stable number, beginning to decline	Declining number
Sales	Low sales	Rapidly rising sales	Peak sales	Declining sales
Profits	Negative	Rising profits	High profits	Declining profits
Cash Flow	Cash user	Cash balance	Cash generator	Cash trap
Overall Marketing Strategy	Expanding market share/ harvesting	Holding/ building market share	Holding/ maintaining market share	Harvesting/ liquidating/ focusing
IMC Focus	Investing for share building	Leading for share growth	Maintaining share	Targeting to a niche/ deleting
IMC Strategy				
• **Advertising (Emphasis)**	Building awareness (High)	Building awareness (Moderately high)	Maintaining share (Moderately low)	Niche/ deleting (Minimal)
• **Public Relations (Emphasis)**	Building awareness (High)	Building awareness (Moderately high)	Maintaining share (Moderately low)	Reducing to minimal level (Minimal)
• **Sales Promotion (Emphasis)**	Encouraging trial (High)	Encouraging trial, preference (Moderately low)	Increasing brand switching (High)	Reducing to minimal level (Minimal)
Brand Building Stage	Building brand equity	Building brand equity	Maintaining brand equity	Maintaining/ recreating brand equity

Source: Adapted from Bell, M. L. (1982). Advertising strategy and strategic market planning. In A. D. Fletcher (Ed.), Proceedings of the 1982 Conference of the American Academy of Advertising (pp. 7-11). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee, p. 8; Dhalla, N. K. & Yuspeh, S. (1976). Forget the product life cycle concept! Harvard Business Review, 54(1), p. 104; Kotler, P. (1994). Marketing management: Analysis, planning, implementation, and control (8th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pp. 373, 621.

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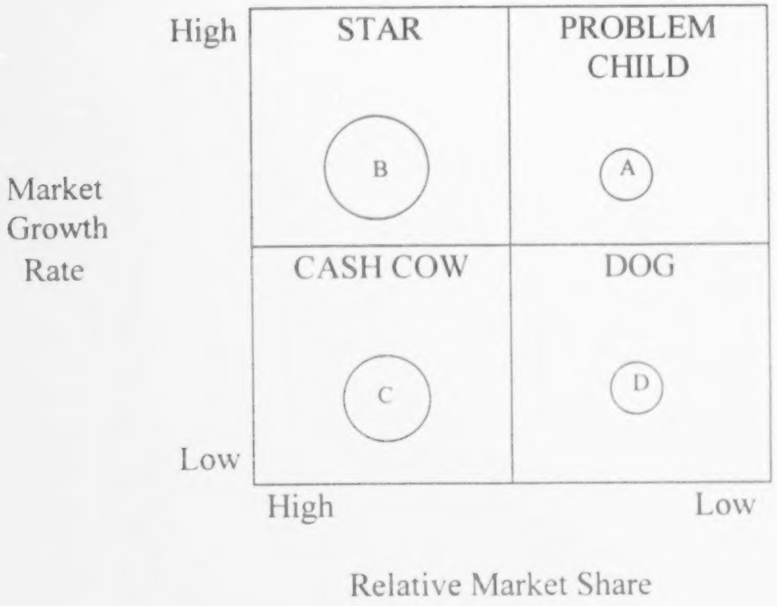
High
STAR
PROBLEM CHILD
B
A
Market Growth Rate
CASH COW
DOG
C
D
Low
High
Low
Relative Market Share

Figure 1. The BCG's Growth-Share Matrix

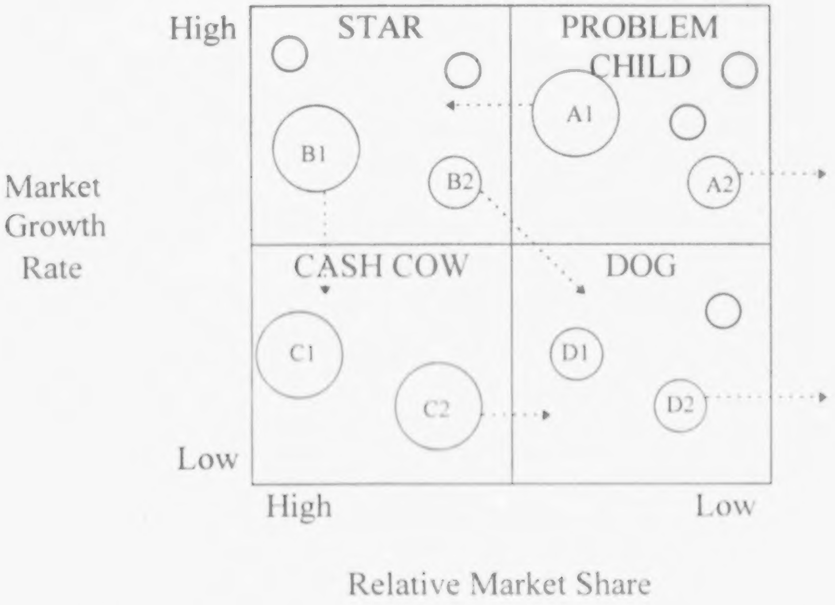
High
STAR
PROBLEM CHILD
B1
B2
A1
A2
Market Growth Rate
CASH COW
DOG
C1
C2
D1
D2
Low
High
Low
Relative Market Share

Figure 2. The Product Portfolio Matrix of A Hypothetical Company

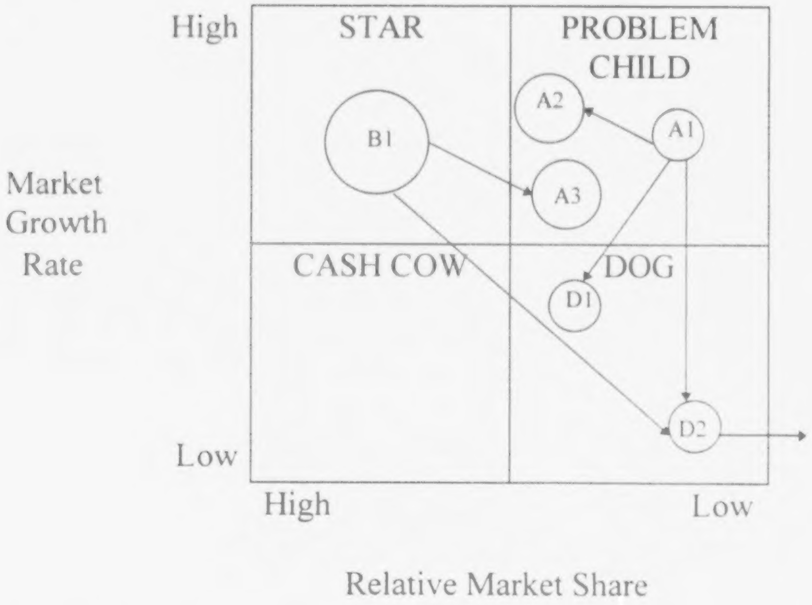
High
Low
Market Growth Rate
STAR
PROBLEM CHILD
CASH COW
DOG
B1
A1
A2
A3
D1
D2
High
Low
Relative Market Share

Figure 3. Position Changes in the BCG's Growth-Share Matrix

Source: Adapted from Bell, M. L. (1982). Advertising strategy and strategic market planning. In A. D. Fletcher (Ed.), Proceedings of the 1982 Conference of the American Academy of Advertising (pp. 7-11). Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee, p. 10; Day, G. S. (1977). Diagnosing the product portfolio. Journal of Marketing, 41(2), p. 34.

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THREE CULTURAL VALUES IN AMERICAN ADVERTISING: THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, THE DEPICTION OF TIME, AND THE CONFIGURATION OF SPACE

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THREE CULTURAL VALUES IN AMERICAN ADVERTISING: THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL, THE DEPICTION OF TIME, AND THE CONFIGURATION OF SPACE

Abstract

Interest in the study of cultural values in advertising has continued to increase in the last two decades; however, previous studies have not fully explored the complexity of these values.

Using a document analysis approach, this study explicates the ways in which three core values in American culture appear in network primetime television advertising. A number of main message strategies and contextual categories are described, which provide a better understanding for use in international advertising and offer insight into creative strategy for domestic advertising.

INTRODUCTION

The advertising literature of the 1980s shows an interest in one of the "unintended consequences" of advertising -- the transmission of cultural values. Much of this research has concerned two issues -- (1) advertising's role in either constructing new values or reflecting existing values within a culture and (2) the need for a better understanding of cultural values so that creative strategy can accurately depict a given culture, whether it is one's own culture or a target culture for international advertising. Pollay (1986; 1987) and Holbrook (1987) have addressed the first issue in a philosophical debate concerning the role of advertising in society. Two well articulated but conflicting views emerged, but the issue goes unresolved.

Many researchers (including Pollay) have addressed the second issue by attempting to identify the cultural values in advertising messages. Significant strides have been made; however, by the mid 1990s the research in this area has not advanced beyond a rudimentary phase, perhaps due to disagreement over which values are worthy of investigation, vastly different approaches to the study of values, an underestimation of the complexity of cultural values, and the use of different theoretical frameworks. Some researchers have examined one broad value (Gross and Sheth 1989; Wolburg and Taylor 1994) while another has examined 42 narrow values (Pollay 1983). Most cultural values are given at face value with little discussion regarding their complexity, and theoretical frameworks have drawn from such varied sources as Hall (1966, 1959), Hofstede (1991, 1980), Reisman (1950), and Rokeach (1973).

From 1980 through 1996 the major advertising and marketing journals addressed a number of issues related to cultural values, and 20 content analyses of cultural values in ads were published. Ten studies examined values within a single country -- one in Poland (Sayre 1994); one in the People's Republic of China (Cheng 1994) and eight within the U.S. (Belk and Pollay 1985a; Belk and Pollay 1985b; Gross and Sheth 1989; Pollay 1983, 1984; Pollay and Gallaher 1990; Zinkhan, Hong, and Lawson 1990; Zinkhan and Shermohamad 1986). The other ten studies examined values cross-culturally. U.S. advertising was compared to that of Brazil (Tansey, Hyman, and Zinkhan 1990), China (Cheng and Schweitzer 1996), Great Britain (Frith and Wesson 1991), Japan (Belk and

Bryce 1986; Belk and Pollay 1985c; Mueller 1987), Mexico (McCarty and Hattwick 1992), and Sweden (Wiles, Wiles and Tjernlund 1996). One study compared the advertising of the PRC, Hong Kong, and Taiwan (Tse, Belk, and Zhou 1989), and another compared values across 11 countries (Albers-Miller and Gelb 1996).

While no standard list of values is agreed upon by advertising researchers, certain values have been extensively described by anthropologists and other social scientists. Of all cultural values, the role of the individual (individualism versus collectivism) is generally agreed upon as the most important dimension of cultural differences (Hofstede 1991; Lodge 1975; Triandis 1989), although it has been a focus of only six of the advertising studies (Albers-Miller and Gelb 1996; Cheng 1994, 1996; Frith and Wesson 1991; McCarty and Hattwick 1992; Mueller 1987). Hofstede ranks the U.S. as the most individualistic country in the world (1980).

A second value that plays a highly significant role within a culture is the depiction of time. According to the anthropologist Edward Hall (1983), nothing occurs outside a time frame although each culture has its own unique pattern. To function in a culture, it is as necessary for individuals to learn the language of time as it is to learn the spoken language. Despite the importance of time as a cultural value, it has been the focus of only two advertising studies (Gross and Sheth 1989; McCarty and Hattwick 1992).

One of the ways that the time system is maintained is through the configuration of space. Cultures that emphasize the need to do one thing at a time require privacy from interruptions, which is often achieved by giving people space to work alone -- either through private offices or use of partitions within a room. Cultures that prefer the handling of many tasks simultaneously configure space in a way that enhances interaction in favor of privacy by giving people easy access to one another (Hall 1983). None of the advertising studies addressed the configuration of space.

The following study attempts to explicate the ways in which messages of individualism, time, and space appear in American network primetime television advertising. It begins with an historical overview of the three values and proceeds to an interpretive analysis of advertising content. The study is not intended to be a census of all the ways in which advertisers make use of the values nor to provide an exact count of their instances. Rather it is intended to explore, first of all, the depth and the variation of the portrayal of these ingrained values, to bring their use to a conscious level and to make available for discussion their taken-for-granted nature that is interwoven with advertising messages.

Individualism

Individualism is a political idea that has developed after the 15th century. During the earlier, medieval times each person was equated with his or her place in the social hierarchy. Any separation from the social roles assigned by God, society, and family was unthinkable (Baumeister 1987). The 16th century marked increased social mobility and the cessation of the fixed social hierarchy which shifted the basic unit in society from the community to the individual, forming a foundation for individualism. The blacksmith's son, for example, was no longer tied to the moral duty to become a blacksmith himself (MacIntyre 1981).

The word "individualism" was coined in 1830 by the French philosopher, Alexis de Tocqueville who stated that

> Individualism is a calm and considered feeling which disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the mass of his fellows and withdraw into the circle of family and friends; with this little society formed to his taste, he gladly leaves the greater society to look after itself.

Hofstede (1980) has identified key characteristics of countries that rank high and low in individualism (Table 1). Individualism and collectivism not only affect family life, but also occupations, education, and relationships in the workplace. Most collectivist families consist of extended families (parents, children, grandparents, uncles, aunts -- even servants), and a lifetime of loyalty to one's extended family is the only secure protection one has against the hardships of life. Breaking this loyalty is among the most severe offenses a person can commit.

Within individualist societies, everyone is expected to look after themselves and their immediate family while other relatives often live at quite a distance. The nuclear family encourages children to be independent and to leave the parental home once they reach adulthood, and at that point they often reduce their relationships with the parents.

TABLE 1
THE INDIVIDUALISM SOCIETAL NORM

Low Individualism (Collectivism)	**High Individualism**
People are born into extended families or clans which protect them in exchange for loyalty.	Everyone is supposed to take care of him or herself and his or her immediate family.
"We" consciousness.	"I" consciousness.
Collectivity-orientation.	Self-orientation.
Identity is based in the social system.	Identity is based in the individual.
Emotional dependence of individual on organizations and institutions.	Emotional independence of individual from organizations or institutions.
Emphasis on belonging to organization; membership ideal.	Emphasis on individual initiative and achievement; leadership ideal.
Private life is invaded by organizations and clans to which one belongs; opinions are predetermined.	Everyone has a right to a private life and opinion.
Expertise, order, duty, security provided by organization or clan.	Autonomy, variety, pleasure, individual financial security.
Friendships predetermined by stable social relationships.	Need for specific friendships.
Belief in group decisions.	Belief in individual decisions.
Value standards differ for ingroups and outgroups; particularism.	Value standards should apply to all; universalism.

Hofstede 1980, p. 171.

Time

Hall (1959; 1966; 1983; 1987) refers to two kinds of time systems that predominate throughout the world. Monochronic time refers to doing one thing at a time, and such cultures are inhabited by "low involvement" people who compartmentalize time and use schedules to determine how time is organized. Polychronic time refers to doing many things at the same time, and these cultures are inhabited by "high involvement" people who allow relationships to determine how time is organized. Polychronic people perform many tasks simultaneously, are not disturbed or irritated by interruptions, generally resist being held to deadlines, and are not strictly bound to schedules. Appointments mean very little and may be shifted around at the last minute to accommodate someone more important in an individual's hierarchy of family, friends, or associates. Monochronic people think of time as a finite commodity that can be saved, spent or lost; they generally perform one task at a time in a linear fashion, are clearly disturbed by interruptions, honor deadlines, and think of schedules as sacred and unalterable. Hall notes that the U.S., Germany, England, and the Scandinavian countries are monochronic while Japan, India, France, Spain, Latin America, South America, and the Arab countries are polychronic.

Historically the concept of monochronic time gained momentum during the Progressive Era in the U.S. The best-known advocate of time-saving and efficiency was Frederick Winslow Taylor, the founder of scientific management. Taylor first applied his principles to the operations at the Bethlehem Steel Company between 1900 and 1910. By analyzing ways that workers could operate at maximum efficiency, he was able to increase the average workload nearly 400% (Taylor 1911). His concepts of scientific management have continued to affect other areas of life beyond the applications at the turn of the century.

Space

Hall notes an important relationship between time and space. Monochronic cultures reduce the polychronic effect by reducing involvement, which means separating activities with as much screening as possible (1966, p. 173). This is often accomplished by use of space, e.g., placing workers with higher responsibility in private offices separated from distractions and other people. In polychronic Japan, for example, private space is to be avoided at all costs because it disrupts the flow of information and shuts people off from one another.

In monochronic cultures the desire for privacy is carried out in personal life in addition to the business world. The home offers owners a greater opportunity for privacy than public spaces, and social gatherings in the U.S. often take place within the home or other private space. In polychronic cultures many of these social occasions take place in public places.

Space is also characterized by the relationship between humans and nature, which is manifested by one of three stances -- the inclination to master nature, the desire to maintain harmony with nature, or the belief in subjugation to nature (Kluckhohn and Strodbeck 1961).

Arensberg and Niehoff contend that Americans look upon nature as something to "overcome, to improve, to tear down and rebuild in a better way" (1975, p. 373). Other cultures, particularly Eastern ones, look upon nature as something one should respect and obey.

Like all values, the role of the individual and the use of time and space are thought to be pervasive and reflected in society's institutions as well as in its cultural products such as novels, films, television programs, popular music, and advertising; yet, the pervasive, taken-for-granted nature of values can make them nearly invisible to the members of a given culture. The following study examines the way television primetime advertising depicts the three values.

METHODOLOGY

Obtaining the sample

A sample of commercials from 14 hours of primetime network television programming (8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. ET) was obtained by taping all programming on ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX on a single night with additional hours on subsequent nights. Network programming was preferred to cable to access a broader, mass audience, and primetime was chosen because it is the daypart that attracts the largest audience.

The sample was created in order to obtain an adequate number of unduplicated national ads from a representative mix of situation comedies (sitcoms), 2-hour movies, 1-hour dramas, 1-hour news programs, 1-hour reality programs, and 2-hour sports programs. A total of 272 ads were taped, which resulted in 198 national ads after eliminating local advertising and repetitions. Local ads were eliminated since no control over content differences was possible across localities.

As a further check against a possible bias for a disproportionate number of ads within product categories, a comparison of the percentage of ads by product category from the sample was made against the yearly summary percentages of ads by product category from the Television Bureau of Advertising (percentages were converted from dollars). The similarity in figures suggests that the number of ads within each product category in the sample are typical for their respective categories.

The Interpretive Approach

This study deviates from the traditional content analysis by utilizing a qualitative approach through document analysis -- a method underutilized by advertisers -- in hopes of gaining a different level of insight given the complexity of the values.

The appropriateness of ads as qualitative data was discussed by Denzin (1978) who identified mass-media products, including advertisements, as one of several public records suitable for document analysis. Like other forms of qualitative research, document analysis utilizes the inductive approach, which allows the theory or pattern to emerge from the data. A primary benefit from this approach in this study was the identification of various patterns which could not have been discovered otherwise.

One of the limitations of past research is the lack of explanation given for identifying complex values. Individualism and other values are usually defined at high levels of abstraction; yet, an examination of ads for incidence of cultural values requires a knowledge of a given value at the concrete level. Document analysis also provided a means for identifying the more concrete elements that are associated with the value at the abstract level.

Using transcripts of the ads in the sample, the two authors applied analytic induction and comparative analysis to identify common patterns or categories that were neither too inclusive nor too restrictive (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1994). This process required a continuous interplay between data and analysis in which the tentative categories were tested and refined. The categories were considered adequate when they could account for all data, a step that is otherwise known as reaching the point of redundancy (Taylor 1994).

The study developed through a series of stages beginning with the posing of research questions, identification of categories, and the counting and description of elements within categories.

The Research Process

The study asked four research questions concerning how individualism, time, and space are depicted in advertising. Through an initial screening of the ads, the researchers noted that individualism could be expressed two ways -- through main message strategy and through the context in which the ad occurs. This finding generated two research questions regarding individualism, each of which directed a stage of the research process that resulted in the identification of elements. These elements were later included in a coding sheet that enabled the researchers to gain a numerical count of elements. The same process was applied to the other two values.

The study asked:

RQ1 When it appeals to individualism, how does advertising depict individualism in the main message strategy?

Stage 1. Based on Hofstede's characteristics of individualist and collectivist cultures, each commercial was examined for the presence or absence of a main message element incorporating individualism. The main message element was defined as the intended overall impression to be gained from viewing the commercial, and most often it could be deduced by asking after viewing the commercial, "What will happen if I buy and use the advertised product?" Possible answers to the "What will happen" question related to individualism included, among many others:

1. I can develop my personality; become more "me."
2. I can gain self-respect; elevate my status to others/elevate a family member's status (make my child feel special).
3. I can be more efficient at accomplishing tasks including work and recreation.
4. I can win a promotion, increase skill level, learn to learn.
5. I can make better use of time including staying well to continue working.
6. I can make better use of money including caring for family finances.
7. I can be more attractive.
8. I can be healthier.
9. I can use products to identify my personality to others.
10. I can demand products to suit me.

By regrouping related elements, the authors collapsed the ten original elements into four broader main message strategies -- "The Esteemed Individual," "The Efficient Individual," The Physically Attractive Individual," and the "I Am Me Individual."

Three of the strategies require little explanation. The "Esteemed Individual" is made up of all esteem related message elements including developing personality, becoming more "me," gaining self-respect, and elevating my own (my nuclear family's) status. The "Efficient Individual" is made up of all message elements including being more efficient, winning a promotion, increasing skill level, learning to learn, and making better use of time and money. The "Physically Attractive Individual" captures all message elements related to being more attractive and being more healthy.

The "I Am Me Individual" is an extension of the "becoming more me" element of the "Esteemed Individual." The need for separate categories occurred because some products promise to help the consumer reach a state of "me-ness" previously not attained while others do not. Esteemed Individual messages imply that without the product, the individual has not yet succeeded in attaining the quality and, perhaps, never will. The "I Am Me" appeal is used when the state of "me-ness" is already assumed. The product or service becomes a way of symbolically representing rather than achieving this state. Some ads that use this message strategy claim that the product can identify the user's personality to others, while others claim that the user can demand products to suit his or her needs.

Main message elements that focused *only* on product performance, demonstration, uses, and applications without a promise to enhance the individual were not regarded as messages of individualism because the emphasis is on the product -- not the user.

Additionally, the study asked:

RQ2 How does advertising depict context to convey information regarding individualism?

Stage 2. Contextual elements were defined as "secondary characteristics of the commercial that reflect an individualistic society but are not part of the main message strategy." The contextual elements identified for analysis were: gender, race, ethnic group, age, occupation, recognition ceremonies, presence of nuclear family, and camera techniques that support individualism. The eight categories were not chosen to provide an exhaustive list of information about the cast members, but instead to provide the most easily observable yet significant contextual information. Presence of gender, occupation, and nuclear family are fairly straightforward coding elements, but the other categories require some explanation.

Race. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the racial categories for statistical reporting are: American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, black, and white. Within the sample of ads, no American Indians, Alaska Natives, or Pacific Islanders appeared, leaving Asians as the only race present other than black and white.

Ethnic Group. According to Census data, ethnic origin refers to country of origin, regardless of race. For example, those of Spanish/Hispanic origin are Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Other Spanish/Hispanic origin regardless of race.

Age. An estimate of the age of each individual was made according to the following four age categories: (1) Child and Teens (infancy to 19 years), (2) Young Adult (20 to 39 years old), (3) Middle Adult (40 to 59), and (4) Older Adult (60 and over). Age designations were approximations since determining the age of a cast member with certainty was impossible; e.g., the difference between age 39 and 40 is not readily apparent.

Recognition Ceremonies. Within an individualistic society, people strive to be recognized for their own merits. In order to grant them the recognition they deserve for their accomplishments, certain opportunities for recognition must exist within the culture. Both formal award ceremonies, such as college graduations, and informal celebrations, such as eating a special meal with the family, were noted.

Camera Techniques. American advertising texts typically instruct copywriters to use first person point-of-view in writing the ads.

> When people read your copy, they are *alone.* Pretend you are writing each of them a letter on behalf of your client. One human being to another; second person *singular* (Ogilvy 1985, p. 80).

The manner in which commercials are filmed can also support individualism by presenting information in a first person point-of-view. The "subjective camera" in film terminology facilitates identification and is a technique that has been used in film since the 1920s (Cook 1985).

Coding Decisions

For any given commercial, the possible codings were (1) does/does not have a main message of individualism, (2) does/does not contain one or more contextual cues related to individualism. For ads expressing individualism, the single best main message category was chosen per ad, but all contextual cues that applied were noted. Thus, many ads contained information on not one but several contextual cues.

While most commercials with main messages of individualism presented the message within a context that further supported individualism, some did not. Others used contextual support of individualism without a main message. The separate occurrence of main message and context required independent coding decisions foror example, a financial planning ad used a main message claim that the company can help parents provide better, i.e. more efficiently, for their child's future education and a contextual element of nuclear family with a mother and daughter together at home. Other ads, including one for a breakfast cereal, lacked main messages of individualism by speaking only of the taste of the product but produced a contextual cue of nuclear family by showing a mother and daughter eating breakfast together at home.

The four main message strategies and the eight contextual elements formed the coding categories for individualism (see the Appendix for the coding sheet).

The study further asked:

RQ3 How is time depicted in advertising?

Stage 3. Since anthropologists describe U.S. culture as monochronic, its expression was far more expected than polychronic; however, a preliminary viewing of the ads found no evidence of polychronicity, though they included ample evidence of monochronicity. A monochronic time category and four time categories that could occur within either time system emerged from the data. While the information regarding time was often quite important to the ad, it was considered a frame in which other messages existed. All time (and space) elements were treated as contextual elements.

Two time concepts noted in the literature were not developed into categories due to difficulties in interpretation. They were the perception of the passage of time by the actors in their roles, and the synchronization of time to the season. The psychological literature (Pollio, Henley, and Thompson 1997) includes evidence that age, mental state, and control of one's destiny can influence the perception that time passes quickly or slowly; however, this element could not be interpreted without access to the thoughts of the characters in the ads. Synchronization of the season depicted in the ads to the current season was also difficult to determine due to the variation in temperature across the U.S.

Five time elements were noted and described below: Limited Time, Marking Time, More Time, Oriented Time, and Sequenced Time. They are included in the coding sheet (refer to the Appendix).

Limited Time. This category reflects the monochronic concept of a finite or limited commodity -- something that can be quantified, measured, saved, lost, spent, scheduled, and accounted for. The presence of Limited Time was noted for ads that made any of the following claims:

1. The product is fast-acting.
2. The product is long lasting.
3. The product is sold for a limited time only.
4. The product allows users to avoid spending time unproductively (e.g., being sick).
5. Consumers are urged to not miss out.

While these concepts are different, they are all tied to the monochronic belief that time is a finite commodity. Because time is finite, it can be managed best by doing one thing at a time in a linear, task-oriented manner.

Marking Time. Marking time encompasses the process of commemorating events and counting the passage of time. Examples include products that claim to make an ordinary day special and depictions of holidays, birthdays, anniversaries, award ceremonies, or other significant rites of passage (Wolburg and Stankey 1994).

Because the culture marks birthdays as a passage of time, products related to the aging process or claiming to give a youthful appearance are included in this category.

More Time. The more time that goes by from an arbitrary starting point, the greater the knowledge of technology and the better the product is. Those that are new and improved are introduced with certain fanfare, and they are allowed to claim explicit or implicit superiority. Products that have endured in the marketplace for long periods of time also claim superiority due to longevity. Ads claiming the product is new and improved, or superior due to longevity are coded in this category.

Oriented Time. Orientation reflects the concept that ads are directed toward the past, present, or future. All ads show products that are currently available with calls to action "now;" however, some products are used in the present time for reasons set in the past or future. Ads oriented in the past may show people using a product because it carries on a tradition that they want to continue or because it is associated with nostalgia.

Products oriented in the future have benefits that will be gained at a later time such as going to school to learn a skill, or joining the military to earn money toward college. While those products are used in the present, the motivation is for future rewards, unlike ads oriented in the present that only claim immediate benefits.

Sequenced Time. The sequence of time in ads contains three possible choices including real time, compressed time, and non-linear time. Ads in real time are those in which the action appears to take place chronologically from start to finish within the 30 seconds of the ad. Ads in compressed time are those in which the action is speeded up in order to show the completed activity from start to finish within the 30 seconds of the ad. If allowed to run in "real time," the action takes much longer.

Non-linear time refers to a number of ads that use one of a variety of editing styles that show a montage of images that are not chronological. Many of these ads are edited to look like music videos with a series of shots that create an image for the product.

The study next asked:

RQ4 How is space configured in advertising?

Stage 4. In the real world, space can be measured and examined in a number of ways; however, the use of space in ads is somewhat limited by the camera's presentation. Furthermore, configuration of space is perhaps the most taken-for-granted and most difficult to interpret. From the initial viewing of ads for spacial elements, the following three contextual elements emerged: the ownership of space, the location of relationships, and the mastery of space. The three categories were also included in the coding sheet.

Ownership of Space. Upon noting the setting of the ad, it was apparent that five possible locations based on ownership were possible: Private Space, Semi-Private Space, Accessible Public Space, Restricted Public Space, and Neutral Space.

Private space allows access only to the owner, including homes of individual families. These are usually locked, and non-family members can enter only by invitation. Semi-private space (restaurants, hotels, theaters, shopping malls, stores, etc.) is privately owned but open and unlocked to the public under certain conditions. When "closed," these spaces are locked and inaccessible to the public.

Accessible public space such as open highways, national parks, bodies of water, government buildings, and public transportation are accessible to the public but not available for private ownership. In contrast, restricted public space such as military installations and government buildings are secured places, inaccessible to the public except under special supervision such as tours.

Neutral space is a category used when visuals are so limited that no location can be identified, or when a studio background makes it so neutral that the location can be virtually anywhere.

Location of Relationships. The setting in which relationships occurred was also noted using the same five choices. Only ads that depict people in a relationship were coded in this category.

Mastery of Space. To address the control or mastery of nature, settings for ads in the sample were coded as either natural, altered, or undetermined space. Ads with natural settings include those with scenic expanses that are unchanged, e.g., mountains, forests, and beaches. Ads with altered settings includes those set inside buildings or placed outdoors on land that has been improved, e.g., a softball field. Undetermined settings were those that provided too little information to make a determination.

FINDINGS, EXAMPLES, AND FREQUENCIES

The four-stage process resulted in the identification of categories that emerged from the data, which produced a coding sheet. A fifth and final stage required the counting of frequencies within categories using the coding sheet. The findings of the three values are given below with examples from each category.

Individualism -- Main Message Strategy

A total of 155 of 198 ads (78%) contained main messages of individualism, and 192 of 198 ads (97%) supported individualism through the context. The ads specifically outlined four ways in which one can stand out and be recognized as an individual within U.S. culture: The Esteemed Individual, The Efficient Individual, The Attractive Individual, and The "I Am Me" Individual.

The Esteemed Individual. Ads in this group hold a promise to consumers that their esteem will be enhanced by using the product, and 7% of the ads used this strategy. For example, a McDonald's ad opened with a female African-American teacher introducing the first place essay winner, Jerri Bell, an African-American girl about 8 years old.

> *When I'm a parent I hope I won't have to be a single parent. You have to work all day, spend time with your kids, and take them places like McDonald's for a Happy Meal so they feel special. When I have kids, I hope my husband lives forever, but if I have to be a single parent, I want to be just like my Daddy.*

The ad tells parents that treating a child to a McDonald's Happy Meal will raise self-esteem by making the child feel "special," which also enhances adults by making them feel they are good parents.

The Efficient Individual. By far the largest category of main message strategy is the Efficient Individual (55%). Ads using this approach claim to make the individual more efficient at work, at home, in recreational activities, etc.

An ad for the Navy focuses on two young men, one white and one black, playing basketball aboard ship as the officers look on. The ad plays off viewers' expectations that the men are good players when, in fact, they are comically inept. The ad tells how they can prepare for their future efficiently by earning money for their college education while learning a skill in the Navy.

> *Wayne Winfield and Ron Williams were two of the most heavily recruited high school kids in the country. Of course, it wasn't for their game. It was for their minds. And thanks to the Navy College Fund and the Montgomery GI Bill they have a chance to really use them. Because they can earn up to $30,000 for college. So even if the NBA isn't in their future (Ron says 'I guess that's game'), a BA is. For more information call 1-800-USA-NAVY.*

The Attractive Individual. Ads for the Attractive Individual claim that the product will make consumers healthier or more attractive. Ads offering attractiveness were more often directed toward women than men, but ads for health targeted both. A total of 14% of the ads used an attractiveness/health main message strategy.

An ad for Ponds Age Defying Lotion introduces a spokeswoman at the Pond's Institute who promises the product will deliver younger looking skin -- the look needed to be attractive.

> *Women ask me if there's really anything that can make them look younger. I ask them "are you still just using a moisturizer?" I give them Pond's new Age Defying Lotion. It contains alpha nutrium. No age defying ingredient has been found that can beat it. They start to see the proof in two weeks, the look and feel of younger skin. Try getting that from a moisturizer. Age Defying Lotion. New from the Pond's Institute.*

The "I Am Me" Individual. The "I Am Me" Individual is the smallest (3%) category of individualism message strategy. It flatters the individual much like the esteem category but differs because the person has already achieved the state of individualism. The following example is an ad in which the individual is so sure of his identity that he can demand products. In a Burger King ad, an African-American spokesman about 35 years old is savvy enough to know exactly what he wants, and he is not enticed by mere claims of convenience and price.

> *Look, I appreciate the fact that fast food is inexpensive (only 99 cents). I know its convenient and all that, but if I'm going to give you 99 of my cents, you gotta give me more than just some burger. I mean is it a Whopper? Is it flame broiled? Or is it fried? Can I get it how I want it or am I going to be scraping off gobs of secret sauce? I mean I can get a roll of duct tape for 99 cents. Doesn't mean I'm going to make it my lunch.*
> *VO: The 99 cent Whopper, now at Burger King.*

A total of 43 ads (22%) did not contain messages of individualism, but most included information in the context that supports individualism. Table 2 shows the frequency for each individualism category.

TABLE 2
MAIN MESSAGE STRATEGIES FOR INDIVIDUALISM

Individualism Category	Incidence	Percent
The Esteemed Individual	13	7
The Efficient Individual	109	55
The Attractive Individual	27	14
The "I Am Me" Individual	6	3
No Main Message	43	22
Total	198	100

Individualism -- Context

Information in the context that helps to define individualism was found in 192 ads (97%). The message strategies show what paths can be taken to achieve individualism, but the added information in the context defines how gender, age, race, and ethnic group affect the pursuit of individualism.

Additionally, the ads show what types of occupations are most fitting, the occasions that are mostmeaningful, and the definitions of family that are most accepted within the individualistic culture, all within a first-person point of view.

Some ads did not contain a main message strategy but did include contextual information. One example is an ad for the beef industry. The visuals show four separate, slice-of-life scenarios of families and friends interacting, all of which are rich in contextual information.

> *VO: When the Clay family dropped over unexpectedly, they had beef and pasta primavera. For the first ever straight A report card, it was stir-fried beef fajitas. And for the upset victory on the bowling league tourney it was bistro steak sauce. Of course, it's not that you need a special occasion to appreciate dinners like these. All you really need is half an hour, and your average Wednesday will do just fine. Beef. It's what's for dinner.*

By noting the activities of the cast members in this particular ad, the ad conveys that the way for men to express individualism within U.S. culture is by having a wife who takes care of the home and family, having friends, achieving scholastically, and winning at sports. Women excel by caring for the home, husband, and children, having friends, and, to a lesser extent than men, winning at sports. Whites appear to be more successful at attaining these things than blacks or people of ethnic background, and older people are largely absent from occasions with young people. Winning at sports and earning high grades in school are accomplishments worthy of a reward.

A count of the 703 people cast in the 198 ads provided detailed contextual information about gender, age, occupation, race, ethnic group, family constellation, and recognition ceremonies. When the composition of contextual elements was compared to that of the general population, the representations in the ads consistently provided a disproportionate view of reality. Generally, men were overrepresented (men comprised 56% of those in the ads but represent 49% of the population, while women comprised 44% of those in the ads but represent 51% of the population); gender roles depicted relatively few women working in occupations outside the home when in fact they represent 43% of the full-time work force; people 20-39 years old were vastly overrepresented (66% in the ads but 32% of the population); ethnic groups were underrepresented (only 3% of the people in ads showed signs of ethnicity while 9.5% of the population is Hispanic, not to mention other ethnic groups); and whites were slightly overrepresented (89% in the ads and 85% of the population).

Twenty percent of the ads showed people receiving some form of praise or recognition. The personal accomplishments recognized in the ads included attaining physical attractiveness (losing weight, having beautiful skin, being younger looking, and getting the closest shave), excelling in sports (making the winning play in the basketball playoffs, winning at bowling), achieving scholastically (winning an essay contest, earning straight As, and graduating from college), and surpassing others on the job and in hobbies (owning a great restaurant, winning a cooking contest, having the best recycling ideas, and singing a solo in a chorus). The ads not only convey that being the best deserves special recognition, but they define what is worthy of recognition.

In advertising, the camera technique that privileges the first-person point of view is seen in a variety of ways, e.g., by showing products such as food in close-ups from the viewpoint of one person eating it, or by presenting spokespersons talking directly to each viewer. This reinforces the individualistic tradition that allows people to make consumer decisions based on what is good for "me" rather than what is good for the group.

Time

Frequencies of the five contextual elements for time are given with an example of each element.

Limited Time. A total of 99 ads (50%) incorporated the concept of Limited Time. The two most distinct examples were for products that claimed to save time for the user (a total of 69 ads -- 35%) and for products that were offered for a limited time only (30 ads -- 15%). The following ad for Tide detergent and Whirlpool washers shows how the product saves time for the consumer. The visuals show a couple who run a bed and breakfast sitting on the porch with their young daughter.

> *Cheryl Hooley: This is our home, but it is also our business. (Cheryl and Steve Hooley written on screen.)*
> *VO: The Meadow Lane Bed and Breakfast.*
> *Cheryl: Our guests check out at noon and new guests come in at 2:00. We don't have time to do things twice. We do 8, maybe 10 loads of laundry a day. That's a lotta laundry. I need all the help I can get.*
> *VO: Whirlpool's super capacity washers and Tide's outstanding stain removal mean that even the biggest loads get first time every time clean.*
> *Cheryl: It takes a lot of work to make it seem like it runs itself. That's the art of it.*
> *VO: Tide and Whirlpool. First time every time.*
> *Cheryl: Now if we could only find a place to go on vacation.*

A "limited time only" ad for Sear's Home Appliances demonstrates the notion that time expires. It uses a dialogue between an unseen male voiceover and an attractive brunette in her twenties. Other visuals show a variety of people using the different appliances.

> *VO: The national home appliance sale is on at Sear's Brand Central.*
> *Woman: I've been waiting for it.*
> *VO. You can save 60 bucks in this washer-dryer pair.*
> *Woman: I may even break down and do the laundry.*
> *VO: It's Sear's lowest price ever.*
> *Woman: Hm. You can't beat that.*
> *VO: True. Save on great brands, too. G.E. Jennair, Sony, Apple and more.*
> *Woman: No wonder they call it Brand Central.*
> *VO: Right. You know the National Home Appliance Sale is one of the biggest events of the year. So, you're not going to miss it are you?*
> *Woman: Miss it? You gotta be kidding.*
> *VO: At Sear's Brand Central. While supplies last.*

Because time is limited, it must be spent wisely. Like money, one can justify spending time only if it is put to good use, and people who waste time are judged negatively. In the sample of ads, spending time at work or with nuclear family members is a "good" use of time. Being sick or having to wait are unproductive, "bad" uses of time.

Marking Time. Ads in this category claim the product enhances experience by commemorating events and special occasions, and by keeping track of time through birthdays, anniversaries, etc. A total of 51 ads (26%) incorporated markers.

An ad for General Foods International Coffee opened at home with a woman serving coffee to a close friend.

> *Woman #1: I am never eating again. What's that?*
> *Woman #2: Well, something a little special.*
> *Woman #1: Oh, French Vanilla Cafe.*
> *Woman #2: Remind you of something?*
> *Woman #1: Reminds me of all those frosted gingerbread houses that I was eating, room by room by room.*
> *Woman #2: You're not having any? (coffee)*
> *Woman #1: Better not.*
> *Woman #2: Hello. Excuse me. It's 60 calories.*
> *Woman #1: It's 60 calories? You know, I said no, but I didn't really mean no.*
> *Woman #2: Yes, no, no, yes. It's all interchangeable.*
> *VO sings: Celebrate the moments of your life.*

In addition to the familiar "Celebrate the moments of your life," a Blockbuster video ad claimed the product can make an occasion out an everyday experience by making it "a Blockbuster night."

More Time. Ads in this category recognize that improvements come over time. A total of 56 ads (28%) included these messages.

A voiceover for Resolve Carpet Granules says:

> *You used to have to drag a shampooer home to clean high traffic areas and do the whole carpet with all the hassle, the wetness, the waiting. Today there's Resolve High Traffic Carpet Cleaning Granules. Just shake on, brush in. Sponge-like granules absorb the dirt. Later, vacuum clean. Resolve High Traffic Carpet Cleaner.*

The visuals showed a woman struggling to get a rented shampooer out of the trunk of the car, and the old, outdated method was contrasted with the newer, superior method using Resolve.

Oriented Time. The next characteristic deals with time as orientation. While ads could be oriented in either the past present, or future, the overwhelming majority (193 ads or 97%) were oriented in the present. Four (2%) were oriented in the future, and only one (1%) was oriented in the past.

A Merrill Lynch ad is an example of an ad oriented to the future because the rewards of financial planning are in the future, not the present. A mother who is a single parent says:

> *I never wanted to grow up. Much less get older. A daughter. Even the word used to scare me. Now I have commitments -- that she would have an education -- that my parents will always be o.k. Love is expensive.*
>
> *VO: Take control of your future. A plan from Merrill Lynch can show you how. And a Merrill Lynch financial consultant has more ways to make the plan work for you than anyone else. The difference is planning. The difference is Merrill Lynch.*

The one ad in the sample with a past orientation cast an African-American woman about 40 years old who tells viewers that she uses Dove Soap because her grandmother used it.

Sequenced Time. Sequence was the final time characteristic coded, and each ad used either real time, compressed time, or non-linear time. The vast majority of ads (152 or 77%) used compressed time; 31 ads (15%) used real time; and 16 ads (8%) used non-linear time.

Many compressed time ads were product demonstrations such as the following Lysol Drain Opener ad.

> *Man (shaving): Uh, sink is backing up.*
> *Woman (in shower): Get out the Lysol.*
> *Man: Lysol doesn't unclog drains.*
> *Woman: It does now.*
> *VO: Introducing professional strength Lysol Drain Opener. It sends more power through standing water than other liquids. It cleans even tough, smelly clogs.*
> (Meanwhile, visuals show picture of U shaped clogged drain. We read "15 minutes later -- hair and grease are gone" and see the drain unclog.)
> *Man: It got out the clog.*
> *Woman: You did well.*
> *VO: Get out the Lysol that gets out the clogs. New Lysol Drain Opener.*

Testimonials quite often used real time while products that relied heavily on image appeal used non-linear editing style. Table 3 summarizes the frequency and percent of all five elements.

TABLE 3
CONTEXTUAL ELEMENTS OF TIME

Categories	Incidence	Percent
Limited Time	99	50%
Marking Time	51	26%
More Time	56	28%
Oriented Time	198	100%
Past	1	1%
Present	193	97%
Future	4	2%
Sequenced Time	198	100%
Real	30	15%
Compressed	152	77%
Non-Linear	16	8%

Space

The frequencies and descriptions of the three contextual space categories are noted as follows.

Ownership of Space. Action in ads predominately took place in private space. The Private Space category was the largest single one, and use of the two private space categories (Private and Semi-Private Space) was more than double (57% cf 26%) the two public space categories (Accessible and Restricted Public Space). See Table 4 for specifics.

Homes, which were furnished and accessorized in great detail, were the most frequent setting for private space, and open roads with scenic backgrounds, schools, and parks were the most common public space locations.

Location of Relationships. A total of 99 ads (50%) depicted relationships, and most of these relationships were among family members or friends. Several were between teachers and students, while others were work-related, either between customers and workers, or among co-workers.

Private Space was the most frequent single location for relationships (48%) with homes being

TABLE 4
OWNERSHIP OF SPACE

Ownership of Space	**Incidence**	**Percent**
Private Space	77	39%
Semi-Private Space	36	18%
Accessible Public Space	47	23%
Restricted Public Space	6	3%
Neutral Space	32	16%
Total	198	100%

the most frequent use of Private Space. The combined use of Private and Semi-Private Space for relationships constituted 69% of all "located relationships." Homes and to a lesser extent, stores, restaurants, and offices, are privileged as the most frequent and, perhaps, the most natural location for relationships to occur. Schools, beaches, and parks were the most common public places for relationships.

Mastery of Space. Most ads (77%) occurred in Altered Space settings such as homes, restaurants, stores, and schools. Other Altered Spaces included "improved" public places including a park with a stone wall, a beach with a picket fence, and a military base.

Ads set in natural locations with no alterations or improvements included beaches, mountains, and expanses of open land. Only 12 locations (6%) used this type of space, and they were always public places. Thirty-four ads (17%) were counted as Undetermined since their setting was either ambiguous or a studio back-drop.

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of the Values

The sample shows that the three values have a strong presence in network primetime television advertising. Individualism is expressed in several ways, both through main message strategies and contextual cues. Efficiency is by far the best way to achieve individualism perhaps the result of the monochronic time system (Hall 1959). Attaining attractiveness is also a strong path, but the contextual cues indicate that this is more important for women, is narrowly defined, and dependent upon youth. Healthiness is important for both men and women.

Two types of esteem messages hold still other ways to succeed in attaining individualism, while the context teaches viewers that people who do achieve individualism are predominately white, non-ethnic, 20-39 year-olds who maintain the most traditional gender roles.

Monochronic time is strongly reflected not only through the high frequency of messages that remind consumers that time is a finite commodity, but through other elements. The concept that things improve over time supports the belief that accomplishments occur in a linear, monochronic fashion; the preference for compressed time over real time emphasizes the end result of linear events rather than the experience of time; and the reliance on present orientation reflects the compartmentalization of the past as "over."

The ads showed a preponderance of private space settings when compared to public settings -- an outcome that privileges the privacy and security attained through the ownership of property, particularly the home of the individual. Nature is also mastered to suit individual needs. Rather than the three values operating independently of one another, there is a very strong interaction. Individualism appears to be the central value which drives other values, but all three reinforce each other.

Applications for Domestic and International Advertising

Knowing how the ads in mainstream U.S. culture express individualism, time, and space provides a starting point for other researchers who wish to investigate these values and their expression in subcultures within the U.S. and in cultures outside the U.S. Future research in other media may uncover other main message strategies and different contextual elements that can be incorporated into this framework.

Advertisers targeting another culture not only need to know whether a culture values individualism or collectivism, but also how the values are achieved. Although individualism in American primetime television was achieved through the four distinct paths, other individualistic cultures may express it differently, and those expressions may require examination on a case by case basis. For example, the French are individualistic, but they are more likely to express it through intellectual pursuits than through efficiency. Cultures that value collectivism may also vary in the way the value is expressed. Individualistic appeals are sometimes used in collectivistic countries, often with apparent success (Mueller 1987), but no studies to date have recommended the use of collectivistic appeals in individualistic cultures.

Advertisers wishing to target other cultures or subcultures should examine the role of context in the ads and determine how such elements as gender, race, and age are best portrayed. Contextual information in this sample included a number of under-representations and over-representations, just as the contextual elements in other cultures may also reflect certain inaccuracies and stereotypical portrayals that are used because they are strategic in selling products.

Advertisers must also ask whether the culture is polychronic or monochronic. If the culture is monochronic, Limited Time claims will resonate with the audience. In contrast, polychronic cultures are unlikely to find these claims convincing and are more likely to be persuaded through appeals to tradition. Such cultures will also be less likely to respond to More Time claims that the product is new and therefore better. For example, a recent Korean ad for a brand of washing machine claimed that it could wash clothes as well as doing the wash by hand, which was held as the superior method (Kim 1996).

Finally, advertisers must choose their settings carefully. Cultures that privilege public space may utilize these settings far more frequently than the private home, unlike American advertising. Also, cultures that show a reverence for nature may resist persuasive messages that assume a mastery of nature attitude.

Contributions of the Study

Previous studies have noted the presence or absence of specific values, but this study takes a further step by addressing the complexity of the values, investigating how the values are expressed, and identifying how the values interact with each other.

This study set out to explore the depth and the variation of the portrayal of the three values in order to go beyond a superficial presentation. The identification of elements brings the use of these three values to a more conscious level and makes their presence in advertising less taken-for-granted.

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APPENDIX

Coding Sheet for the Three Values

Individualism

Main message: _____yes
_____no

If yes, select one of four:

_____1. Esteemed Individual
_____2. Efficient Individual
_____3. Attractive Individual
_____4. "I Am Me" Individual

Context: _____yes
_____no

Describe all that apply:

1. Gender
2. Occupation
3. Age
4. Race
5. Ethnic Group
6. Appearance of Nuclear Family
7. Recognition Ceremonies
8. Camera Technique

Time

Select one in each category:

1. Limited Time
_____a. yes
_____b. no

2. Marking Time
_____a. yes
_____b. no

3. More Time
_____a. yes
_____b. no

4. Sequenced Time
_____a. compressed time
_____b. real time
_____c. non-linear time

5. Oriented Time
_____a. past
_____b. present
_____c. future

Space

Select the main setting:

1. Ownership of Space
_____a. private space
_____b. semi-private space
_____c. accessible public space
_____d. restricted public space
_____e. neutral space

Select the main setting:

2. Location of Relationships
_____a. private space
_____b. semi-private space
_____c. accessible public space
_____d. restricted public space
_____e. neutral space

Select one:

3. Alteration of Space
_____a. natural
_____b. altered
_____c. undetermined

Get Hooked on Collecting:
A Qualitative Exploration of the Relationship Between the Hallmark Brand and Hallmark Collectors

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Get Hooked on Collecting:
A Qualitative Exploration of the Relationship Between the Hallmark Brand and Hallmark Collectors

Abstract

More and more brands are becoming collectible, and more and more manufacturers are building lines of collectible merchandise. One of the most prominent brands to move into this category in the last twenty years is Hallmark Cards. Hallmark has become the leader in collectible Christmas ornaments and manage a collector's club with more than 275,000 members.

This study explores this relationship between the brand and the collector. Via this collecting activity, Hallmark has enhanced brand loyalty, while creating an emotional tie between the collector and the brand, as well as the ornaments collected.

Get Hooked on Collecting:
A Qualitative Exploration of the Relationship Between the Hallmark Brand and Hallmark Collectors

It is estimated that one in every three Americans collect something (Pearce 1995). There are collectors of fine art, antiques, toys, stamps, cookbooks, postcards, Christmas ornaments, and even celebrity autographs. The possibilities are endless, as indicated by the more than 260 collectors' clubs in existence in the U.S. (Unity Marketing 1997)

Collecting has been identified as a "common, intensely involving form of consumption" (Belk, Wallendorf, Sherry, Holbrook and Roberts 1988). In the context of consumer behavior, consumption is defined as a means of acquiring, using and discarding products. But many items, even consumer durables such as Coca-Cola and Campbell's Soup are acquired for possession and collection, rather than consumption (Belk 1982). Collecting then becomes a rather unique form of consumer behavior because its primary focus is on the acquiring aspect and to a certain extent the usage feature, but a collection is seldom, if ever discarded. As defined by Belk (1982), collectors engage in acquiring, possessing and collecting an interrelated set of differentiated objects.

The act of collecting is an ancient one. Literature suggests that even Tutankhamen collected walking sticks, staves, whips, mineral specimens, and toys (Rigby and Rigby 1944). But collecting has become more widespread in the 20th century than ever before, primarily due to the "broadened conceptualization of things that are collectible" (Belk, Wallendorf, Sherry and Holbrook 1991, p.185). A collectible differs from what is deemed an antique. It is generally considered that for an item to be categorized as an antique, the object must be at least 100 years old and had some intrinsic value at the time it was produced, such as Chippendale furniture or fine works of art (Crispell 1988). This is not true of a collectible. A collectible basically has been mass produced in the 20th century and most often cost less than $200 at the time of production. Collectibles are often considered "old trivia" that recall the past of 15 to 20 years earlier (Crispell 1988, p.40). Items such as Barbie Dolls, McDonald's Happy Meal toys, and baseball cards are just a few examples of current common collectibles.

In addition, more and more companies are developing collectible items, mass producing identical objects in series or sets, and providing authentication at the time of purchasing. It's a form of prepacked collecting. Franklin Mint, a manufacturer of mass produced collectibles, recently partnered with several corporate marketers to create collectible products of some of the top commercial brands. The Coca-Cola Company, The Walt Disney Company, Planters Peanuts, LifeSavers, Ralston Purina, McDonald's, Harley Davidson and Campbell's Soup Company are just a few of the corporations that have agreed to tie their products to collectible dolls, plates, sculptures, and Christmas ornaments (Loro 1995). Brands such as Hallmark Cards have developed their own line of collectibles, creating more than 250 Christmas ornaments per year under the Keepsake Ornament umbrella. These mass-merchandising efforts have extended the brand by making it collectible. And the companies are using marketing strategies to attract new collectors and increase purchase frequency among current collectors; two classic strategies for building a brand's business (Jones 1992).

Researchers have only recently begun to explore collecting as a consumer behavior phenomenon (Belk et al. 1988; Belk et al. 1991; Pearce 1995; Belk 1995). However, little research has been done to date that explores the allure of collecting brands and whether certain manufacturers or brands attempt to create or influence collecting behavior among consumers. According to publications targeted to collectors, it is clear that some collectible manufacturers perpetuate collecting behavior via marketing materials, advertisements, and collectors' clubs. One manufacturer that stands out in this regard is Hallmark. Hallmark manufactures its own line of collectibles, whereas most companies simply license the logo to various manufacturers such as the Franklin Mint or Bradford Exchange. Secondly, Hallmark has what is thought to be the largest collector's club in the U.S. with more than 275,000 members. And finally, Hallmark has created various events and communication tactics exclusively for collectors. For these reasons, it seemed appropriate to start this exploration of the relationship between brands and collectors with Hallmark.

WHEN YOU CARE ENOUGH: HALLMARK OVERVIEW

Independent research suggests that "When You Care Enough to Send the Very Best" is one of the most trusted and believed slogans in America because it associates the product with the experience of Hallmark (Linda Fewell, Hallmark public relations, personal communication, February 8, 1996). Not only has this advertising slogan been in use for more than 50 years, it has become the philosophy of the company as well. Hallmark founder, Joyce C. Hall (1979) wrote, "while we thought we had only established a good advertising slogan, we soon found out we had made a business commitment as well. The slogan constantly puts pressure on us to make Hallmark cards 'the very best'" (p.211).

Hallmark positions itself as "the world's largest manufacturer of greeting cards and other personal expression products" (Hallmark press release, July 1, 1995). Founded in 1910, Hallmark ranks 31st on *Forbes* list of the largest privately held U.S. companies. Annual sales are $3.8 billion and the company is the market leader in both greeting cards and Christmas ornaments.

In 1973, Hallmark introduced the Keepsake line of Christmas ornaments. The first offering included six decorated balls and 12 yarn figures as Christmas decorations. Today, Hallmark manufactures over 250 ornaments per year under the Hallmark Keepsake Ornament umbrella. The company takes credit for setting the standard in the collectible-ornament industry due to the fact that no ornament is available beyond its year of issue (Hallmark Fact Sheet 1995). It introduces an entirely new line of ornaments each year, unlike their major competitor Enesco, which reissues designs year after year.

The growth of ornament collecting has escalated since 1973, the year of Hallmark's introduction into the marketplace, a fact that Hallmark takes credit for (Hallmark Fact Sheet 1995). Today, more than 22 million households collect Christmas ornaments and more than half of those households collect Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments, according to Hallmark research (Linda Fewell, personal communication, January 15, 1996). Because of this increased interest, the company launched the Hallmark Keepsake Ornament Collector's Club in 1987, which is now the largest collector's club in the nation. It is one of the few, if not the only, club that is completely managed and maintained by the manufacturing company. Most collector's clubs are volunteer organizations with no company affiliation (Linda Fewell, personal communication, January 15, 1996). Today, totally membership fees, event fees and event purchasing, the Hallmark Collector's Club generates $117 million annually.

Club membership grew from 100,000 members to over 250,000 members in less than one year. Today, membership is over 275,000 and Hallmark expects the total to reach 300,000 before the end of 1997. According to Lynn Wylie, manager of the Hallmark Keepsake Ornament Collector's Club, Hallmark "developed the Collector's Club in appreciation of our ornament collectors. Collectors wanted behind-the-scenes information about Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments, how they're made and about building their personal collections" (personal conversation, September 16, 1995).

For a $20 fee, ornament collectors can become a member of the Hallmark Keepsake Ornament Collector's Club and receive four ornaments as gifts. In addition, members have the exclusive opportunity to purchase three additional ornaments, that can be ordered direct from the company. Members also receive a subscription to *Collector's Courier*, the club's quarterly newsletter and the opportunity to attend Hallmark Keepsake Ornament EXPO's, a members only annual event.

In March, Club members are sent the *Dream Book*, Hallmark's brochure introducing the ornament line for the current year. At that time, collectors can pre-order ornaments through the local Hallmark store, and many do so, ordering ornaments that have only been seen in print. In mid-July, Hallmark hosts the Keepsake Ornament National Premiere at participating Hallmark stores to introduce the new line. "The Premiere provides collectors with the first opportunity to see, touch and purchase the more than 250 new Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments. . ." (Dream Book 1996). At the Premiere, there are more opportunities to purchase or win "exclusive Premiere ornaments," ornaments that are only available at the premiere and often only available to Hallmark Collector's Club members.

In the fall, Hallmark sponsors the EXPO, which tours at least ten U.S. cities. For a registration fee of $10, members can attend "workshops and demonstrations, see special presentations and videos, meet and mingle with other collectors and receive special EXPO gifts" (EXPO Brochure 1995). In addition, attendees can meet Hallmark Keepsake Ornament artists, have ornaments signed by the artists, get a sneak peek at the line for next year, and purchase the "exclusive" Keepsake Signature Collection - yet another ornament.

To celebrate the 20th anniversary of Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments, two national Collector's Conventions were held in 1991 at the company headquarters in Kansas City, Missouri. Due to the overwhelming response and the demand for more of the same, Hallmark kicked off the EXPO in 1994, traveling to eight cities, and expanded to ten cities in 1996. Only 2,000 members are allowed to register for each EXPO and for the past two years, each city has been a sell out. This unique collecting environment was chosen to observe the interaction between Hallmark and Hallmark collectors first-hand.

THE HALLMARK COLLECTOR'S EXPO '95: AN OVERVIEW

Method

Participant observation and in-depth interviews were used to collect the data at the Hallmark Expo in Secaucus, New Jersey - September 16, 1995. Activities at the EXPO were videotaped and all interviews were audiotaped. In addition, the marketing materials used by Hallmark to promote the event and those materials provided at the EXPO were used in the analysis. A complete press packet about Hallmark products and the EXPO was provided by the company and telephone interviews with Hallmark marketing personnel were conducted several months after the EXPO.

Pseudonyms are used throughout this account to preserve the anonymity of informants, except in the following cases.

- Linda Fewell is a marketing media relations expert at Hallmark and supplied all the marketing materials used for this study, and was interviewed on numerous occasions. She serves as the spokesperson for Hallmark.
- Lynn Wylie is the Manager of the Hallmark Keepsake Ornament Collector's Club. She serves as the expert on the club and Hallmark's activities surrounding the promotion of the club. Wylie was only interviewed once, however she is quoted extensively in Hallmark's promotional materials.

- Clara Johnson Scroggins is a collector as well as a consultant to Hallmark. She is considered by many to be the premier authority on Christmas ornaments and her ornament collection is recognized as the largest in the world ("The Season" 1996). Scroggins is the author of six editions of the *Hallmark Keepsake Ornament Collector's Guide*, and in 1993 collaborated with Hallmark to create *Keepsake Ornaments: A Collector's Guide 1973- 1993*, a special publication commemorating the 20th anniversary of Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments. She is a columnist in *Collector's Mart Magazine*, as well as other collectors' publications, and travels year-round on the collecting lecture circuit and appears at the EXPO courtesy of Hallmark.

This study begins with a description of the EXPO setting, including a layout of the EXPO exhibits and details of some of the exhibits. Following a discussion of the selling strategies used by Hallmark regarding the EXPO, profiles of two collectors are presented. Their stories lead to a discussion of the relationship with Hallmark and how the company perpetuates the collecting behavior.

The EXPO Environment (The Setting)

Hallmark Collector's Club members lined the sidewalk in front of the Meadowlands Sheraton for more than two blocks on Saturday, September 16. The procession towards the entrance began just before 9:00 a.m. and was conducted in a most orderly, congenial fashion. There was no jockeying for space, no cutting in line, no complaining about the pace, no attempts to push ahead. It was quite friendly, very neighborly, very community oriented. Once inside, the escalator moved the collectors to the second floor where they entered "The World of Hallmark." Linda Fewell would later comment, "Many people commented it was almost like coming to Mecca" (personal conversation, September 6, 1996).

Twenty-one exhibits lined the hallway and filled the large ballroom of the Sheraton Hotel. Hallmark ornaments were at every turn, and every exhibit was designed to encourage collecting. This "Sweet Smorgasbord of Activities" (described as such in the EXPO program), was laid out in such a way that collectors could roam from booth to booth to view Hallmark ornaments in a variety of displays. In fact, a visit to every booth was actively encouraged. Each attendee was given a card to have stamped at each booth. Once the card was full, the collector could be entered into the prize drawings which would be held at the end of the day. The prizes were Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments, of course. (See Exhibit 1 for the EXPO layout.)

Although each exhibit advertised some aspect of the Hallmark Keepsake line, some booths encouraged collecting more than others, building a stronger relationship with the collector. The exhibits that seemed to reinforce the collecting behavior will be discussed here. They are: Artists' Signing Studio, EXPO Collectibles Shoppe, the EXPO Main Stage presentation and Clara's Corner.

Artists' Signing Studio

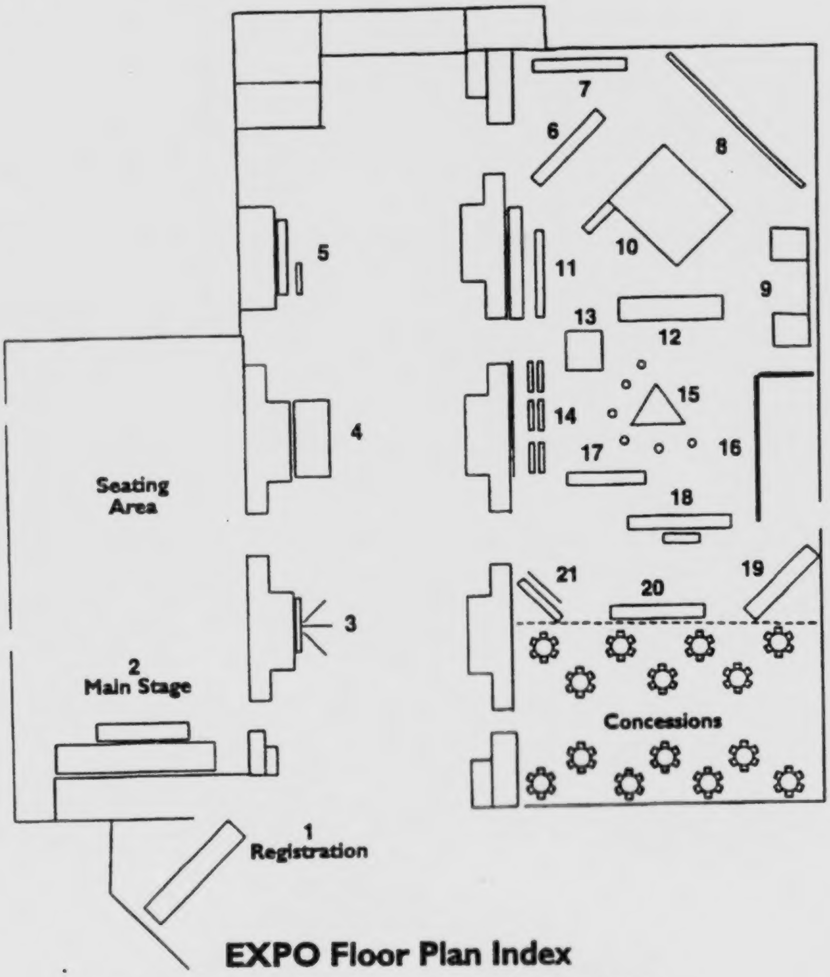
The Artists' Signing Studio was in the center of the room, the main attraction it seemed or at least the focal point. The booth was circular and for most of the day, collectors patiently waited in a long line in order to have three Hallmark artists sign one ornament each. It was as if the artist was a celebrity of sorts, and their signing an ornament somehow affected the value of the piece, either emotionally or financially.

The artists sat underneath a sign displaying their signature. As the collectors patiently waited their turn, they began to meticulously unwrap their ornaments in preparation for their audience with the artist. The whole process was similar to a communion line. As each collector approached the artist's station, the ornament was carefully handed over for inscription. There was very little, if any, conversation between the collector and the artist. It was a reverent-type of behavior that was observed here. The collectors appeared to feel honored to have this artist sign a piece from their collection. The silence imposed by the collector seemed to indicate admiration and respect. According to Hallmark, this booth was the most requested by the collectors. Linda Fewell told me, "They love meeting the artists. One artist even commented - 'they make me feel like Robert Redford'." Celebrity status indeed.

When the ornament was signed and returned, the collector would thank the artist and move on to the next. Once all three artists had been visited, the collectors would leave the circular line and huddle in an area to admire the signature on each ornament and then, with painstaking care, return the ornament to its original wrapping and container.

Exhibit 1

Hallmark Expo Floor Plan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11
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13
12
15
4
14
17
16
18
Seating Area
21
20
19
3
2
Main Stage
Concessions
1
Registration

EXPO Floor Plan Index

1. Registration
2. EXPO Main Stage
3. EXPO Signature Cookbook
4. Santa's Tailgate Party
5. Spinning for Goodies
6. Kiddie Car Classics
7. How Keepsake Ornaments are Made
8. EXPO Collectibles Shoppe
9. Keepsake Ornaments: A Collecting Tradition
10. Collector's Clubhouse
11. Decoration Station
12. Merry Miniatures™
13. 1994 World's Largest Collector's Ornament
14. Artists' Workshop
15. Artists' Signing Studio
16. Mrs. Claus' Prize Pantry
17. Collectible Series Review
18. BARBIE™
19. Information
20. 1996 Keepsake Easter Ornament Parade
21. Clara's Corner

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EXPO Collectible Shoppe

This was the only exhibit at the EXPO where ornaments could be purchased. A crowd surrounded the Collectible Shoppe throughout the day. This was the place for collecting, all the items were exclusive to the EXPO. In addition to pins and T-shirts designed with the EXPO logo, the other items for sale were collectible ornaments as promoted in advance by Hallmark. These items were only available to those attending the EXPO, an exclusivity that makes the purchase more desirable (Belk 1995). In fact Hallmark only produces enough of these ornaments so that every EXPO attendee can purchase one, in effect a limited edition of 20,000. Four ornaments in all were available, ranging in price from $5 to $60. There was no display of these ornaments, so basically collectors were buying the items sight unseen.

I watched a woman exit the line with boxes stacked on top of one another. She immediately moved to an area of empty floor space and began to methodically open the largest box. When approached, she graciously agree to show me her purchases.

Marie carefully unwrapped the individual pieces all wrapped in bubble plastic for protection. She looked like a child on Christmas morning and was very methodical about the unveiling, and as time passed, other collectors gathered around to view the ornaments for the first time. Marie had purchased all four ornaments. "I know I shouldn't have," she said, " but this is the only place you can get them, so they will be very collectible."

The large box contained "Christmas Eve Bake-Off", a signature piece that some artists had already signed. She carefully slid the large Styrofoam protection out of the box and very gently lifted the lid. Her manner of care and inspection was almost as if she were handling a newborn infant. Those around her oohed and aahed their approval.

> **I bought this type of ornament last year at the EXPO in Baltimore and had it signed by the artists. It's really a collector's item now. I saw a signed one at an ornament show in Pennsylvania not long ago and they were asking $300. I probably should sell mine, but it's part of my memories of EXPO and I want to keep it.**

Marie had brought other ornaments for the artists to sign and for extra help, had brought her sister along in order to get three additional signatures. In addition, she had purchased a special ornament just for this occasion.

> **I try to get things that will excite me. And I didn't see anything this year that excited me to have signed, except for this one** (referring to a Santa ornament). **And this is the best kind to have signed, because it is the first in a series. Last year, I bought the Beatles and had it signed, which I thought was a good deal.**

So, Marie had not only added pieces to her collection, she had indeed added both personal and financial value to the pieces by getting them signed by the artists. Besides, she now had an entire new line of collectibles, those from the EXPO.

EXPO Mainstage Presentation

A ballroom adjacent to the main exhibit hall was set up theatre style and every two hours, the room would fill up with Hallmark collectors. As the lights dimmed, Hallmark Ornament television commercials filled the video screen and monitors. There were ten advertisements in all, both past and present. They were in typical Hallmark style, full of emotion and creating a link between Hallmark and family traditions. The audience responded to their favorites with applause and when the lights came up, many were wiping tears from their eyes.

As the lights came up on stage, and actress portraying Mrs. Claus appeared standing next to a stove, a picture perfect replica of the EXPO Signature Ornament Marie had unveiled just minutes before. Mrs. Claus greeted the audience with familiarity and the same sense of community that had been observed earlier.

> **EXPO reminds me of Christmas in so many ways. Just as Christmas brings family and loved ones together to share in the love and warmth of the holiday, EXPO has brought us together too. Friends, and fellow collectors are here today to share the joy of collecting. Keepsake Ornaments really do bring happiness to the holidays.**

Clara Johnson Scroggins followed the welcome. From the uproarious applause, it was obvious that many of those in attendance knew Clara. While she spoke, slides of the ornaments about which she talked were shown on a screen behind her to applause and oohs and aahs from the collectors. They were enthralled with what Clara had to say. What follows are excerpts of her speech:

> **When Hallmark introduced their line of ornaments in 1973, they did so with only a line that consisted of 12 yarn ornaments and 6 decorated glass balls. Those really made a big change in our lives.**

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> **But what's important to me is how the ornaments now reflect the changes in our lives, our cultures, and our lifestyles today. Before 1973, ornaments were not dated, American decorations were just decorations and it offered us very little individuality in decorating our trees. But today, they've changed and we can celebrate very special occasions, events, and people in our lives.**
>
> **In 1996, Hallmark is launching an ornament which I personally selected. And I selected this piece because I believe it epitomizes what Christmas is all about more than any other. This ornament is going to be called, The Clara Johnson Scroggins Collector's Choice. I don't have it to show you today, but I'm willing to guarantee you're going to love it as much as I do.**

As an authority and a fellow collector, Clara's endorsement is a stamp of approval for other collectors. In addition, Hallmark has created another series of collectibles - The Clara Johnson Scroggins Collector's Choice.

Clara's Corner

When Clara wasn't on stage presenting highlights of the Hallmark line and recommending that everyone buy certain ornaments, she was at Clara's Corner, signing autographs. She is not only considered an expert in the field, but a celebrity as well.

Clara sat in a large overstuffed chair by a fake fireplace in the back corner of the exhibit area. It was designed to look like a living room, Christmas tree and all. She greeted everyone as if they were old friends and many asked to have pictures taken with her. Others had her sign her book, or the Signature piece - even though she was not an artist. But just as with the artists signing, there was a type of reverence here. Many of the collectors kneeled down beside her as she autographed whatever or to have their picture taken. And again, there was little conversation exchanged between the collector and Clara. It seemed as though the collector was in awe of her - she is the ultimate ornament collector.

HALLMARK COLLECTORS

Several interviews were done with collectors at the EXPO. Two are profiled here as a means of learning more about their collecting behavior.

Clara

It was a tragedy that started Clara Johnson Scroggins collecting ornaments. Just before Christmas in 1972, her husband died suddenly from a cerebral hemorrhage. Instead of attending holiday parties, she was planning a funeral. She related the following:

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> **To keep me active and busy, a very good friend decided that I had to go shopping with her the day after Christmas. Our first stop was a jewelry store where my friend had some jewelry repaired. Waiting for her, I glanced in the case and there was a beautiful sterling silver cross that was a Christmas ornament. Being a real Christmas person and seeing this cross, I realized how vulnerable I was. Here I thought I had my life in control and suddenly, here I was - young and widowed. I bought that cross because it connected me and God and my husband in my own little way. When I got home and read the romance card with the cross, it said it was a second edition. I wanted the first. That was the beginning.**

Today, Clara's collection totals more than 250,000 ornaments and is estimated to be worth more than $2 million. What began as her hobby is now her career. She is considered the premier authority on Christmas ornaments, and is the author of collector's guides for Hallmark as well as a columnist for several collector's publications. Each year she publishes a list of her favorite Hallmark Ornaments and in 1996 Hallmark introduces an ornament which she personally selected, the Clara Johnson Scroggins Collector's Choice.

Clara admits to having a "lust" for collecting ornaments. She looks for series or special lines of ornaments, but is emphatic that she buys only what she likes. She adds approximately 2,000 ornaments to her collection each year. Although she does display her ornaments during the holidays, she insists that the ornaments are more than just decorations.

> **Today's ornaments are different. We can celebrate very special occasions, events and people in our lives. Each ornament captures a special moment or feeling. Ornaments reflect the changes in our lives, our cultures, our lifestyles. Ornaments can give us a ticket back to our childhood or provide a chance to capture things that we missed during childhood. That's why I collect Barbie ornaments now. I was too old for Barbie when she came out. My ornaments are like a scrapbook of memories. I can see so much of my life in them.**

Although this conversation was during our interview session, I was struck as how much Clara sounded like a spokesperson for Hallmark. It was as if she were continuing her speech from the EXPO. Furthermore, this type of language "scrapbook of memories" is very similar to the language Hallmark uses in promotional materials such as the *Dream Book* and newsletters.

The two most important things to Clara is her family and her collection. In fact, she often refers to her grandchildren as a collection and to her ornament collection as her children.

> **When my last grandchild was born, my final addition to my collection of grandchildren, we celebrated his first Christmas with his very own seven-foot Christmas tree- covered top to bottom with ornaments proclaiming 'First Christmas 1991.'**

> **My ornaments are truly like my children. My favorite ornament is every ornament I have, there's not a one that I would want to do without. You may think that some are prettier than others, but when you have a line or collection or series, there's not one in that series anybody wants to be without or we wouldn't be out there collecting.**

She also talks of collectors as being her "second family". So there is this extension of the collection and even other collectors as part of her family, as part of herself. Clara explains why collecting means so much to her, almost in a legitimizing manner.

> **I am passing down family heirlooms that I am enjoying today, that present generations of my family are enjoying. And I hope that as time passes, these ornaments will get passed on from generation to generation with the special aura that we've enjoyed, loved and used them. These keepsakes are going to go down in the family for generations to come, showing our cultures, our lifestyles, and making history. They'll say, 'my great-great grandmother lived in those days and she left us these ornaments.'**

In a way, the collection immortalizes Clara. Belk et al. (1991) suggests that collections are a type of autobiography, and as such passing the collection on immortalizes the collector.

Luann

Luann "fell into" collecting. She claims people began giving her ornaments for her birthday, which is in December. Today, she boasts a collection of 2,000 ornaments, which she has cataloged in the Hallmark Keepsake Ornament Treasury Binder, available only to members.

Luann appeared to be in her 40's, works part-time in a deli and has three children and one grandchild. She attended EXPO with her aunt, Nora, who may be slightly older, late 40s. They both love Christmas, love ornaments, and enjoy collecting together. The entire event becomes a family affair. It begins when the Hallmark dream book arrives in March.

> **We get the book and look through it and discuss it. We get on the phone generally and say look at page 32 and yea, did you see the one on page.. ? We go back and forth about what we like, what we don't. I mean this isn't a spur of the moment thing. We study this book and we make a list of 'really like', ' really want', ' gotta have'. And then we wait for the premiere and we go together and buy the gotta haves.**

Depending on her financial situation at the time, she buys the "gotta haves" first and the remainder she either puts on layaway at the store or buys them at a later time, when she has the money. Overall, Luann adds about 30 - 40 ornaments to her collection per year. She does buy other brands of ornaments, but 98 percent of her collection is Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments.

> **I like Hallmark. Hallmark is like fireplaces, a cup of tea and sit around with scrapbooks and that kind of nostalgia. It's pull up a chair, have a bite to eat and -even if it's peanut butter and jelly, we'll sit around the table and talk.**

Christmas is an important holiday to Luann and her family. She claims it is a "warm fuzzy family thing," and admits that her sentimental feelings about Christmas lead to her "compulsion" to collect ornaments as well as the meticulous manner in which she displays her ornaments during the holiday.

> **It's not that is has to be a Hallmark holiday tree, it's just that I like it to look that way. I mean, I even went and bought the pearls with the wires on it so that when you hang the pearls, the little beads around the tree, the loops hang the right way. They don't just naturally droop, they are artistically placed. And the tree has to be a Douglas fir, because that's the only thing that will last. I'm compulsive, I know.**
>
> **I start with the lights. My tree has about 700 lights. Then, I get a laundry basket and take each ornament out. I pack them away so that the heaviest ornaments are on the top so you can find the better branches to put them on the tree. You got to start with weight first. I know you think this is neurotic. But I have this little ritual. I take the ornament out of the box and put it in my laundry basket and then you look at the tree and you look at the ornament and find the best possible place for that ornament and they you do the same thing for the next one and the next one. It's not ... you can't just plop the ornament up there. You have to find the spot where it belongs. You gotta get the right spot for it. You know, if they spend time making these ornaments and they're really nice ornaments, they should be on something very nice.**

Luann doesn't necessarily collect what is popular, she basically buys what she likes. She purchased only one EXPO ornament, because the others simply "didn't do it" for her. She likes items that are a little different.

> **We've always had ornaments on our tree that were a little different, something different than little round balls. Anybody can have those. I really like the ones that do something - moves, music, something. And it's got to have a personality. If I don't like the faces, I won't buy them. And when I look at some of that stuff in the secondary market, I think I've got some really valuable stuff. But I wouldn't sell my ornaments. That's not why I bought my ornaments. I bought my ornaments because I liked them.**

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She mentions that her collection has been a great means of judging her financial situation over the years. But she enjoys all the memories her collection provides. She relates to the message from the mainstage production claiming that memories factor into her love of collecting.

> **Everyone needs these things. It's just . . you open it up, especially year after year, you open it up and I can tell you who gave me each ornament. I can tell you when it was given to me. I can tell you all the things that happened when I got that ornament. It's a touchstone. Each box is a memory. When the kids were little - the one thing we could always do is string popcorn. We have an ornament now with a mouse and a little string of popcorn and a needle. I mean these ornaments are things that we've done. They are part of our memories. Just like caroling and playing in the snow.**

Luann's collection has become a reminder of the family times and of the story of the acquisition of the ornaments (Belk et al. 1991). Therefore, the ornaments become a cue for recalling and retelling stories. The collection becomes a part of Luann's personal history.

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH HALLMARK

Brand Loyalty

The premise behind branding is to distinguish and differentiate products among competitors. Brands are built by establishing added values or a brand personality through user association, product attributes, and advertising (Jones 1986). And by developing added values and brand associations, companies can build brand loyalty, which translates into the retention of a consumer over a long period of time. Hallmark has expertly built that loyalty within their collectors by reinforcing and perpetuating their collecting behavior.

In order to create and maintain brand loyalty, a company must build an association between the brand and the consumer and in the process stay close to the customer. The brand association becomes the link to the consumer's memory of the brand. That link is strengthened when it is based on many positive experiences or exposures to communications (Aaker, 1991). Hallmark's marketing communications to collectors builds a strong brand association which in turn has built brand loyalty, which keeps collectors collecting Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments. According to Hallmark research, a non-collector buys 3 to 4 Hallmark ornaments a year, whereas a Hallmark Collector's Club member purchases forty Hallmark ornaments a year (Linda Fewell, personal conversation, January 15, 1996). All of the collectors interviewed buy predominantly Hallmark ornaments, except for Clara - who adds 2,000 ornaments to her collection each year, about 10% of which are Hallmark. However, that means she purchases almost the entire line of Hallmark ornaments each year. Luann and Marie both add approximately 30 to 40 Hallmark ornaments to their collection each year. This suggests that as the interest in Hallmark ornaments increases, as does the communication from Hallmark, the collector's purchasing increases as well. This is an ideal model for establishing and maintaining brand loyalty.

Obviously, the Hallmark Collector's Club is an important tool in the brand loyalty relationship between Hallmark and the collector. "It's important that Hallmark reach out to those who view our products as important to their lives. We're in a very emotional business. People are using our products to reach out and build relationships with others. And that's what we try to do with our customers as well" (Linda Fewell, personal conversation, January 15, 1996).

In the 1996 *Dream Book*, Lynn Wylie, Manager of the Keepsake Ornament Collector's Club, writes, "The joy of collecting ornaments is a passion that can last a lifetime. Each year when your Keepsake ornaments are lovingly placed on the Christmas tree, memories of friends, family and special times come to life."

Each collector discussed the meaning of their collection, most often in term of memories, talking of scrapbooks and childhood and nostalgia. Luann claimed that she could not off-hand account for every ornament in her collection, but when she unwrapped them to trim the tree, she could recollect how she came to possess each and every ornament.

Clara's collecting behavior began with her constructing memories around an ornament that kept her husband close. She bought her first ornament because it "connected" her with the memory of her husband. Today, Clara uses ornaments to signify events in her life - the birth of a new grandchild - and to build a personal history to pass on to her heirs.

Wylie talks of the "passion" which many collectors referred to in discussions with me. Clara called it "lust"; another collector used the term "passion." Luann referred to it as "compulsive" and yet another called it an "addiction". The fact that collectors admit to being addicted indicates the power of this activity. Addiction in any sense is by no means a positive condition. It has been suggested that insecurity prompts the addicted individual to seek reassurance through a repeated ritualized activity (Belk et al. 1988). If this is the case with Hallmark, the collector receives plenty of reassurance, not to mention opportunities to feed the addiction and legitimize it by labeling themselves as a collector. Belk et al. (1988) further suggest that the association with other collectors engenders the feeling that the addiction is a positive thing. Therefore, the Collector's Club positively reinforces the collecting behavior because Hallmark constantly boasts about the large membership. The collector can feel secure among this community, where more than 250,000 others behave the same way.

Exclusivity

Hallmark promotes the exclusivity of items that only club members can purchase. Even the EXPO is a "collector's only" event. In addition, the entire line of Hallmark ornaments are available for only one year, basically making them all limited editions. By restricting consumption, the personal distinction of the collection and the collector is enhanced (Belk 1982). Often it is the scarcity of the item that makes it desirable and also strengthens the loyalty the consumer feels for the brand.

Hallmark consistently projects the image that "we do it all for you," from the painstaking manufacturing process to quality control measures to creating "unique and intricate ornaments that create a scrapbook of memories for the collector" (Exhibit copy, September 16, 1996). This attitude makes the collector feel special and in their own right, exclusive, just like the ornaments they collect. This special feeling enhances the collector's feelings about Hallmark and to an extent, their own self-image. Belk (1988) contends that collecting is a means for expanding and improving a sense of self.

Furthermore, Hallmark continues to add collectible lines to their ornaments. There is the series of ornaments that you obtain by joining the Collector's Club and each year as that is renewed, new ornaments are provided. There is a series of ornaments called "Club Editions" that only club members can purchase through their local Hallmark store. The Premiere offers a special series of ornaments available only the weekend of the event. And of course, there is the series of collectible ornaments only available at the EXPO. Furthermore, there are the "Collector's Series" that are offered each year in the ornament line. Hallmark guarantees that certain new designs, developed around a particular theme, will be offered for a minimum of three years. There are often 2 to 5 series running at once. This type of marketing promotes brand loyalty. And it is most effective in getting collectors "hooked," because collectors enjoy the anticipation of new merchandise to collect and relish order and completion (Belk et al. 1991).

"The Hallmark Experience"

Collectors and personnel from Hallmark all talked at some point about the "Hallmark Experience". This "experience" is communicated to collectors via the communications as well as product development. And in talking to collectors, the language is quite similar.

Luann spoke of Hallmark as likable, warm, friendly, family-like, comfortable to be with - all attributes that could easily describe a person or a friend. She welcomes Hallmark into her home and treats the Christmas holiday as a "Hallmark Holiday". One in which her home is transformed into the image of the Hallmark advertisements, where families gather and traditions are celebrated.

Clara also spoke of Hallmark in a reverent way, but more as a family member than simply a friend. She claimed her ornaments were like her children and as part of her family she takes great care and pride in displaying ornaments throughout her home year round. However, during the holidays, she decorates seven trees in addition to displaying her ornaments on mantels and wreaths throughout her home.

Hallmark encourages the act of collecting and relates the act as part of the tradition of celebrating Christmas. The Dream Book promotes the "Get Hooked on Collecting" Starter Kit. For $7.95, a "first-time collector" can obtain information about the "tradition" of collecting Keepsake and managing the collection. Naturally, two ornaments are included to "get you hooked." The following copy is also from the *Dream Book*:

> **Getting Started: Chances are you have one or two Hallmark Keepsake Ornaments already. If you're wondering where to go from there it's simple: Follow your heart. Selecting ornaments you love is the best and most satisfying way to begin and continue your collection.**
>
> **A Collection That Grows in Value. While a Hallmark Keepsake Ornament has the potential to increase in monetary value, it's almost certain to increase in emotional value. A Keepsake Ornament collection is a tribute to the joy of collecting memories of the things and the people that you love.**

Clara, Marie and Luann all discussed how they purchased ornaments that they like. And they all discussed the memories that were attached to the act of collecting as well as the collection itself. Luann remarked that "every box is a memory." Hallmark ties the collecting into something as traditional as celebrating the holiday. In fact, they have promoted that part of the holiday tradition is the collecting itself and the joy it provides the collector and those that share viewing the ornaments. Lynn Wylie speaks about the importance of the ornaments:

> **We find that ornaments are important to people because they commemorate special events. The enjoyment comes, in part, from taking the time to reminisce while trimming the tree and the house - to talk about the history and the memories connected with each ornament as it's unwrapped and hung.**

Not only does Hallmark reinforce the act of collecting, in the *Hallmark Keepsake Ornament 1973 - 1993,* they take credit for "introducing America to the concept of collecting ornaments" (Scroggins 1993). And with a brand name like "Keepsake" the meaning is obvious and the behavior is reinforced.

Sacralization

By legitimizing and perpetuating collecting, Hallmark encourages the transformation of ordinary commodities into sacred icons (Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry 1989).

There is a magical quality about objects in a collection. Belk et al. (1989) contend that collectors move the ordinary objects they collect to a state that becomes non-ordinary, non-utilitarian and which makes it special in some way, makes it sacred. This normally means that these objects stop serving their former functions. Even those collected objects that retain their original uses, are regarded as more than functional products, are treated with extreme care and are often only employed ritually or on special ceremonial occasions. As discussed by collectors in this study, although the ornaments are used for decoration, there is much more involved. Recall that both collectors spoke about their ornaments as "more than decorations".

Belk et al. (1989) propose several aspects of sacralization, two of which are apparent among the Hallmark collectors studied.

1. Sacralization through ritual. An ordinary commodity becomes sacred by rituals designed to transform the object symbolically (Belk et al. 1989). A relatively undifferentiated

object is individualized by the consumer through this process, which is the basic foundation that Aaker (1991) defined as branding. The consumer invests the "self" in the brand and builds a relationship with the brand. The ritual is formed through the suggestion of traditions that surround the holidays. Hallmark exploits the ritual by promoting the act of collecting as part of the tradition. Furthermore, the care and display of the ornaments themselves become ritualized, therefore transforming the ornaments into something more sacred than simply decorations.

2. Sacralization through pilgrimage. This is described as a "journey away from home to a consumption site where an experience of intense sacredness occurs" (Belk et al. 1989, p. 15). This is what the EXPO is all about. It is definitely a collecting consumption site and from observing the reverence paid to Clara and the artists, the feeling of sacredness was there. An estimated 20,000 Hallmark collectors made the pilgrimage to the various EXPOs. Linda Fewell remarked that many collectors felt as if it was Mecca, and to many, it might have been. The pilgrimage also relates to the premieres held in the Hallmark stores during July. Luann and Nora make their pilgrimage to pick out their "gotta haves." Clara makes her pilgrimage to Hallmark every year to choose her "best list."

Conclusion

The growth of collecting and the growth of collecting brands is what lead to this exploratory study. The purpose of was to gain more insight into the relationship a brand, such as Hallmark, has built with collectors. There was no attempt, nor was it the intent, to provide generalizable conclusions regarding the collectors of Hallmark ornaments, their collecting behavior or collecting behavior in general. Hallmark admits that there are so many reasons that people collect, that even with all the access they have to the collectors, they have been unable to create a profile of THE Hallmark Keepsake Collector.

What this study has tried to do is explore the relationship a brand has with a collector, a relationship that would seem to be much different than that of simply a consumer. Hallmark is just one of many brands that promote and perpetuate collecting. However, they are one of the few companies that have direct access to their collectors, as well as devising ways to control the environment in which the collecting occurs. This allows Hallmark to singularize and often sacralize a commodity in such a way that it becomes differentiated in the marketplace. For brands, that is always the ultimate challenge. Hallmark has been able to transform their ornaments into a warm, emotional, personal experience that enhances the purchasing of the product as well as its use.

By building brand associations and added values, Hallmark has effectively used a marketing strategy that builds brand loyalty, a most difficult task in today's marketplace. They have created and maintained the association of emotion and feelings with the brand to encourage a most remarkable type of consumer behavior. To study this behavior further, the next step would be to study more Hallmark collectors and events. In addition, study other brands, such as Coca-Cola, Hershey, Campbell's Soup, who are using similar marketing strategies to encourage brand collecting. Further research could lead to a broader understanding of the motivations behind collecting and what it means to the brands who are entering this new and growing category.

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CALVIN KLEIN'S "KIDDIE PORN" CAMPAIGN, WHAT'S THE FUSS?

A Q-sort of student attitudes toward objectionable advertising.

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ABSTRACT

The 1995 CK Jeans' campaign created an unprecedented furor among parents, media companies and advertising practitioners over Calvin Klein's portrayal of child-like models in sexually provocative settings. In addition to consumer and media boycotts, the Federal Bureau of Investigation explored possible violations of child pornography laws.

This study employs a Q-sort methodology and personal interviews to investigate how college students, a segment of the CK Jeans' target audience, view the CK Jeans' campaign in comparison to other recent objectionable advertising campaigns. It then questions and discusses the ethicality of using shock techniques and sexual themes in advertising.

INTRODUCTION

The furor caused by Calvin Klein's 1995 CK Jeans' campaign, featuring child-like models in sexually provocative settings, is unrivaled in American advertising history. Led by professional moralist Rev. Donald Wildmon (American Family Association), the public's outcry resulted in Klein and his in-house agency, CRK, being investigated by the FBI for violating child pornography laws. (Later, the Justice Department found no evidence of wrongdoing.) Reverend Wildmon was joined by a large public who threatened to picket department stores where CK Jeans were sold, politicians who called for a boycott of Klein's products, and retailers who refused to stock Klein's jeans. In the same week (September 11, 1995), both *Time* magazine and *Newsweek* ran articles condemning the CK Jeans' advertising campaign.

Michael Antebi, a creative with more than 17 years of advertising experience in New York said, "Just when you think advertising has scraped the bottom of the barrel of indecency, they lower the bottom" ("Reaction," 1995). Fred Danzig, contributing editor for *Advertising Age*, added, "Klein will be cleared of breaking child pornography laws, but his display of insular stupidity renders him guilty of violating whatever is left of advertising's public decency standards" ("Sidebars," 1995). Bob Garfield, ad critic for *Advertising Age*, commented, "...to portray children as sex toys parading before adults is the line that cannot be crossed. It is plainly repulsive, and if the out-of-control monster should destroy its shrinking master, there will be no wails of grief heard from here." ("Publicity Monsters," 1995). Lastly, Margaret Carlson, reporting for *Time* magazine, concluded, "Even the liberal baby boomers, who thought drive-by sex and drugs were fine for them but want limits for their offspring, believe there's such a thing as going too far when kids are involved ("Where Calvin Crossed," 1995).

Advertising's visibility and persuasive objectives make it vulnerable to public criticism, but criticism of the CK Jeans' campaign was also voiced loudly by the media and advertising practitioners. Antebi added to his scathing attack on Klein, "Unless we clean up our act soon, we may be surprised by the explosion of the public's seething resentment. If we don't do it ourselves, the size and reaction of the next big movement to controlling and limiting advertising will put the large environmentalist groups of today to shame." ("Reaction," 1995)

What consumers, and critics, tend to lose track of is that Klein has become a master of obtaining free publicity through his "shock" advertising tactics. He and other marketers have learned that with a small amount of the right kind of noise, the media will deliver millions of dollars' worth of free publicity. While Klein was forced to cancel the CK Jeans' campaign not long after it was first aired, it was still a huge sales success. Sales of CK Jeans rose to $462 million in 1995 up from $113 million in 1994 ("Real People," 1996).

PURPOSE

Klein's CK Jeans' campaign created a great deal of controversy among parents, the media, and advertising practitioners themselves. This paper uses Q-methodology to explore how college students, a segment of CK Jeans overall target market, view the CK Jeans' campaign. Specific research questions examined in this study were as follows:

> Does the CK target audience consider the CK Jeans' advertisements any more or less objectionable than other controversial campaigns run in the past several years?
>
> Are any of these objectionable campaigns considered unethical by students?
>
> Do objectionable advertisements have an adverse effect on purchase interest?

This paper also discusses the issues and risks faced by advertisers and the industry in using "shock" advertising that may be objectionable or offensive to certain publics.

Clearly there are some very definite benefits to understanding consumer views about ethics in advertising. As Wallace Snyder, president of the American Advertising Federation, noted, "The benefits of high ethical standards for our profession are: 1) We increase our credibility in government and regulatory bodies, thus making sure we can operate in the least restrictive environment possible. 2) We increase our credibility among consumers, which makes our advertising more effective. 3) We increase the value of advertising as a career, thereby attracting the best and brightest of our young people."(fn)

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Advertising's high visibility and persuasive objectives make it vulnerable to public criticism. An Opinion Research Survey in 1989 found that approximately 80 percent of the respondents felt that advertising was a "deceptive persuader." ("For more consumers," 1990)

While advertisers face extensive regulation, not every issue is covered by a clear, written rule. Many issues are left to the discretion of the advertiser, and many decisions touch on ethical concerns such as:

- exaggerated claims (using puffery or unfair comparisons)
- stereotypes (inappropriately portraying women, minorities, etc.)
- unpopular products (advertising cigarettes, alcohol, birth control, etc.)
- political, religious and social messages
- nudity, sexual explicitness and suggestiveness
- selecting target audiences (children, teenagers, minorities, etc.)

An advertiser can act unethically and not break any laws. Ethical advertising means doing what is good and morally right for a given situation. Simply stated, there are two kinds of ethical issues that advertisers must consider. An **ethical dilemma** occurs when there are two or more conflicting, but valid sides to an issue. Advertisers must resolve which decision will produce the most good for the greatest number of people and whether anyone's rights may be violated. Ads that some consumers believe are morally wrong and thus they find them objectionable and offensive create an ethical dilemma. An **ethical lapse** is when an advertiser makes a clearly unethical, and sometimes illegal, decision (Arens, 1994). Lapses may involve issues such as false or misleading claims, bait and switch promotions and rigged demonstrations. The exploitation of children represents serious ethical lapses.

When people complain about advertising, they usually complain about particular ads or campaigns they find annoying or offensive (Bauer, 1968). There is growing evidence that consumers find advertising that uses shock tactics and sexual explicitness to be offensive and objectionable (Judd & Alexander, 1983; Burke & Edell, 1989; Yssel, 1993; Gustafson, 1995). Yet, advertisers continue their usage even though there is evidence that indicates advertising that generates negative attitudes can adversely affect attitudes toward a brand and reduce its sales (Burke & Edell, 1989; Walsh, 1994).

Soley and Kurzbard (1986) found that sexual illustrations have become much more overt over a 20-year period. Apparently, marketers ignore Alexander & Judd's (1978) findings that nudity in advertising did not enhance brand recall and Judd and Alexander's (1983) report that the use of indiscriminate sexual appeals can reduce a product's appeal. These findings support

Steadman's (1969) research that concluded nonsexual illustrations were more effective that sexual ones in achieving brand recall. Severn and Belch (1990) examined the communication effectiveness of visually explicit sexual stimuli and reported that the ability to recall a brand name appeared to be more a function of the information level of the ad than of its sexual explicitness.

Barnes and Dotson (1990) found that a person's perception of "offensiveness" in television commercials is a function of the product itself and the execution of the commercial. They noted that while some consumers may understand that it may be more difficult to make advertisements non-offensive for some types of products, they might not agree with the advertiser's solution. Burke and Edell (1989) found that feelings generated by advertisements were linked to consumers' evaluations of brands. Asker and Bruzzone (1985) identified a number of factors that cause irritation in advertising. These factors include sensitivities toward the product, its use, and the advertising execution.

Who is offended the most when advertising employs sex to sell? In a survey for American Demographics (1994), Walsh reports women are most likely to take offense, but many men are also offended. Further, middle-aged women most often avoid products that employ tasteless advertising.

Yssel, et al., (1993) concluded that advertisements found to be objectionable by senior advertising students most often involved nudity and sexual suggestiveness. Gustafson, Yssel and Popovich (1994) identified some similarities and differences between Baby Boomer and Generation X views of objectionable advertising. They categorized four main "most objectionable" forms of advertising: sexual explicitness, degradation of women, political and social issues. Another study (Gustafson, et al., 1995), found that 73 percent of advertisements ranked "most objectionable" by Baby Boomers and 79 percent ranked the same way by Generation X were perceived to the unethical.

Specifically concerning the CK Jeans' campaign, a survey conducted by *American Advertising Magazine* (1995) found: 60 percent of the respondents felt the media should not have run the CK Jeans' campaign, and 66 percent felt Klein was not justified in using sex to sell jeans. However, 47 percent of respondents approved of using sex to sell products, but only if children were not involved. Findings from another study of 202 advertising agency practitioners in Chicago indicated that practitioners tend to take a positive, almost defensive, stance on advertising's economic and societal roles. While practitioners were generally nuetral on the use of nudity and sexual suggestiveness in advertising, they deemed the CK Jeans' campaign too offensive and in bad taste, but not necessarily unethical (Gustafson, et al., 1996).

METHOD

As part of several class assignments, over a three-year period, students were asked to submit magazine advertisements that they found objectionable or offensive for any reason. The researchers selected 35 of the students' advertisements representative of six potentially objectionable categories: exaggerated claims, stereotypes, controversial products, political messages, nudity/sexual suggestiveness, targeting teenagers. They then added five examples of the 1995 Calvin Klein Jeans' "Kiddie Porn" campaign to create a Q-sort concourse. A personal interview was conducted following each sort to better understand the respondent's ranking and thoughts concerning ethicality. Each sort/interview took approximately one hour to complete.

The 39 students were drawn from two large general studies classes at a large midwestern university. The sample was comprised of 18 males and 21 females between the ages of 18- to 26-years old. Nearly three-fourths of the students were under 21 years of age. The respondents reported their religion as: Catholic (13), Baptist (3), Christian (17) and six other denominations. Political preference was equally split Democrat and Republican.

Q-sort is a behavioral research technique which was introduced by William Stephenson (1953). This technique allows investigators to quantify subjectivity. Each subject in the study was asked to rank order each advertisement by placing it on a nine-point bipolar continuum ranging from most objectionable (+4) to least objectionable (-4). While each Q-sort reflects each subject's own point-of-view regarding objectionable advertising, Q-sort rankings are subsequently subjected to factor analysis which provides clusters of perceptions provided by each subject. Investigators are most interested in the clusters or patterns of behavior which arise from the sorts, because those patterns present perspectives that are internal in nature, i.e., from the subject's standpoint. In contrast, R-factor analysis provides perspectives which are external in nature, i.e., from an observer's standpoint. And since Q-methodology does not require large numbers of subjects, the investigators are content to talk about typical patterns, or models, of behavior found among college students rather than with what might be considered the average college student's opinion concerning objectionable advertising. In dealing with subjectivity, there are no right or wrong answers, "since there is no outside criteria for a person's own point-of-view" (Brown, 1980).

Responses were computer tabulated at the authors' university using the QMETHOD factor analysis program (Atkinson, 1992). One of the benefits of the QMETHOD program is its flexibility which allows investigators, if they wish, to compare and contrast hand rotated factors with computer generated factors. In order to determine if factors should be retained in the solution, at least two of the factor loadings, or person correlations, on each factor must be significant at the .01 level. Factor loadings in this study were considered significant if they exceeded .408. This significant correlation was calculated from a formula for the standard error of a zero-order loading, which is explained in Brown (1980). QMETHOD also provided a descending array of advertisements and normalized z-scores on significant factors for all 40 advertisements. Scores above and below a z-score criterion of 1.0 for each factor were considered significant.

Initially in this study, factor rotations indicated that a two-factor solution might be appropriate for interpretation. Upon examination, however, investigators found a correlation between each factor of .666, which made it difficult to identify distinguishing characteristics between each factor. The investigators opted instead to accept a one-factor solution because it presented a clearer picture of how these Generation-X subjects rated Calvin Klein's "kiddie porn" ads.

RESULTS

Upon analyzing the one factor solution from the 39 sorts, it was clear that students had identified eight of the 40 advertisements as most objectionable (i.e., all eight ads had a z-score of 1.0 or higher). Most of the most objectionable ads featured nudity or sexual suggestiveness, while one dealt with a political message (Benetton). None of them fell into the other three potentially objectionable categories: exaggerated claims, stereotypes, or controversial products (See Table 1).

Only one "kiddie porn" CK Jeans' advertisement, featuring a young male wearing underpants and an open shirt laying with legs spread on the floor, ranked among the most objectionable selections. A campaign for Wilke Rodriquez clothing that featured sexually explicit encounters had three ads ranked among the eight ads most objectionable. Three other objectionable selections included a older CK underwear ad featuring Marky Mark grabbing his crotch and ads for Cafe Luxembourg and Cafe Tabac with several naked women or women kissing, respectively.

Table 1: Most Objectionable Ads with Significant z-scores

No.	Advertisement	z-score
14	Wilke Rodriquez--man with face in woman's crotch, breast partly exposed	2.114
16	Wilke Rodriquez--couple on roof top simulating intercourse	1.371
21	Wilke Rodriquez--couple on roof top in heavy necking situation, intertwined	1.245
39	CK Jeans--young male in underpants, open shirt, laying on floor	1.206
31	Cafe Tabac--Two women kissing passionately	1.148
7	CK Underwear--Marky Mark grabbing crotch	1.110
27	Cafe Luxembourg--naked, overweight women photographed from behind	1.061
24	Benetton--Family gathered around dying Aids patient	1.036

Some of the students' comments concerning why they found the advertisements noted above as the most objectionable follow:

- "Far too sexually explicit"
- "The suggestive scenes could increase rape"
- "Don't understand how this sells the product"
- "Looks like pornography"
- "No idea what they're selling"
- "Too explicit for kids to see"
- "Very vulgar, obscene and offensive"
- "Not an art form, just gross"
- "It's morally wrong to behave that way"
- "Because its relationship to religion is wrong"

Least Objectionable

Of the 40 advertisements, students identified five as the least objectionable. Interestingly, three of the five represent controversial products (See Table 2).

Two ads for cigarettes, Kool and Camel were not considered objectionable. The respondents stated that there is nothing wrong with advertising tobacco to adults. While smoking is bad for you, it is a personal choice. Some students, however, pointed out that they are opposed to the Joe Camel ads targeting teenagers and how the Kool execution with a "sexy" female model glamorizes smoking. An ad for Trojan condoms was also not found to be objectionable. The respondents expressed that there is nothing wrong with promoting safe sex or birth control. Another ad featured body builders and the Benetton ad selected dealt with a burning automobile. Students did not find the content of these two ads to be offensive.

Table 2: Least Objectionable Ads with Significant z-scores

No.	Advertisement	z-score
29	Kool Cigarettes--Clothed "sexy" female, legs spread apart	-2.128
28	Camel Lights--Joe Camel	-1.980
32	Trojan Condoms--male model on sail board	-1.830
26	Benetton--Burning car	-1.272
33	Integrated--Muscular man holding well-built woman	-1.241

Some additional comments that students offered about ranking the advertisements follow:

- "Smoking is not offensive"
- "Nothing wrong with advertising cigarettes to adults"
- "It's okay to advertise a legal product"
- "Condoms have become a way of life"
- "Using fully clothed teenagers as models is all right"

"Kiddie Porn" Ads

Of the five Calvin Klein ads which utilized young males and females, only one of the five was considered to be objectionable by the students in this study (See Table 3). The other four ads were not rated strongly by students either one way or the other. Typical student's comments, although not in a majority of opinions expressed, concerning the Calvin Klein Jeans' campaign were as follows:

- "I think it is being received as artistic by teenagers."
- " I can see why some people would have problems with this." (children in ads).
- "I don't think you need to show naked bodies to sell CK products."
- "They can do whatever they want with advertising, it is the company's choice."
- "Not a bad scene. This scene could be seen in a cruise brochure."
- "Calvin Klein ads turn me off to the product. I think they are raunchy and weird."

Table 3: "Kiddie Porn" Ads with z-scores

No.	Advertisement	z-score
36	CK--Clothed female model wearing tight jeans and black top	-0.68
37	CK--Clothed female model wearing tight tank top	-0.98
38	CK--Half clothed male model wearing only underwear	0.64
39	CK--Poster. Young male in underpants, open shirt, laying on floor	1.21
40	CK--Poster. Three pictures: two females and one male model	0.90

Ethical Perceptions and Purchase Interest

Following the Q-sorts, respondents were asked if they considered the advertisements they just ranked, "ethical" or "unethical." They were also asked if an objectionable advertisement would stop them from buying the sponsoring brand. There appears to be a correlation between the degree of objectionableness and perceived ethicalness in advertising. The findings indicate that 72 percent of the ads identified as most objectionable were believed to be unethical. None of the least objectionable ads were considered unethical. Furthermore, 25 percent of the students stated that they would not buy a brand featured in an advertisement that they found objectionable. The Benetton campaign was singled out as one that reduced students' interest in buying the brand. They felt Benetton was exploiting social issues and human misery in order to sell its products.

Following are some respondents' comments on why objectionable advertisements were considered unethical:

- "could jeopardize the safety of women"
- "wrong to degrade women"
- "companies should not profit this way"
- "no need to show people this way to sell products"
- "the behavior shown in the ads is morally wrong"
- "could harm younger kids to see"
- "wrong to shock people just to get attention"

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this Q study and related personal interviews concur with a number of previous findings: Consumers find advertising that uses "shock tactics" including nudity and sexual explicitness to be offensive and objectionable (Judd & Alexander, 1983; Burke & Edell, 1989; Yssel, 1993; Gustafson, 1995); Advertising that generates negative attitudes can adversely affect attitudes toward the sponsoring brand and reduce its sales (Burke & Edell, 1989; Walsh, 1994); The indiscriminate use of sexual appeals in advertising can reduce a product's appeal (Alexander & Judd, 1983). Further, these findings indicate that a large proportion, nearly three-fourths, of the advertisements deemed most objectionable are considered to be unethical because of their potential harm to certain publics.

Why do advertisers persist in using shock techniques and running such controversial and objectionable campaigns even though there are potential risks? In the case of CK Jeans' "Kiddie Porn" campaign, it may be a wisely calculated risk/reward assessment that the right kind of controversy and publicity can sell. To wit, CK Jeans' sales increased 309 percent as a result of the commotion.

While the CK Jeans' campaign created an unprecedented furor among parents, media companies and advertising practitioners, this study suggests college students, members of the CK target audience, were probably wondering what the fuss was all about. More than likely, Klein's market research of risk/reward assessment was more finely tuned to understanding its target market than most people realized.

The Q-sorts and personal interviews revealed which advertising campaigns the students found most objectionable, and only two Calvin Klein advertisements were rated as most objectionable. One of the ads came from an earlier CK underwear campaign and the second was one of the "kiddie porn" ads. Students in this study believed that the CK Jeans' illustrations were tame by comparison to other campaigns and that their messages would be appropriately interpreted by the target audience.

Students found nearly three-fourths of the most objectionable ads to be unethical. And 25 percent of the students stated that they would not buy a brand featured in an ad that they found objectionable. Conversely, 75 percent of the students said if they liked a brand they would buy it even though its advertising is offensive or objectionable. Not a bad risk for some advertisers to consider.

But, is the practice of "shock techniques" in advertising appropriate? Many parents believe it may be injurious to children. Many practitioners believe it may hurt the industry. And the industry believes it may lead to more regulation.

Is it acceptable for an advertiser to run a campaign that is so shocking that many individuals consider it objectionable and, even, unethical? In the case of the CK Jeans' campaign a large part of the controversy centered on whether it violated child pornography laws and whether it could be protected by the First Amendment? When the FBI dropped the case because it could not prove any of the models appearing in the ads were under 18 years of age, the controversy faded from the public's eye. "The Klein case makes clear that advertisers probably can use teenagers' sexuality to sell a product—the question is, should they?" (Cunningham, 1996).

The need for improved industry-wide standards for self-regulation has never been greater. Today, the liquor industry is reconsidering its 46-year-old voluntary ban on broadcast advertising, the tobacco industry is continuing to defend itself from increased regulation, and the concern for protecting children and adolescents from advertising is growing. The advertising industry needs to be just as concerned about its social esteem as it is about its selling effectiveness. In the long run, the two are related.

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APPENDIX

Ad descriptions and typal z-scores for Factor 1

	Ad Descriptions	Factor 1
1	Yes Clothing--Man, hand underneath woman's exposed breast putting cherry in her mouth	-0.581
2	Whooz Blooz Jeans--Two high school kids in front of wall, his hand on her rear	-0.921
3	Calvin Klein--Couple in bathing costumes on top of each other on beach, kissing (Escape)	-0.480
4	Calvin Klein--Naked male torso (Obsession)	0.188
5	Calvin Klein--Naked woman draped over naked man's shoulder	0.782
6	Calvin Klein--Naked man and woman on swing	0.719
7	Calvin Klein--Marky Mark grabbing crotch (underwear)	1.110
8	Calvin Klein--Marky Mark and woman model, naked torsos	0.178
9	Calvin Klein Jeans--Faceless bodies, female removing belt from male's undone jeans	0.006
10	Calvin Klein--Double page. LHS topless model, breast exposed; RHS model, shirt on	0.589
11	Guess Jeans--Close up of well-endowed woman with cleavage showing	-0.701
12	Guess Jeans--Marilyn Monroe look alike with cleavage apparent	-0.468
13	Request Jeans--Woman sitting on bed undressing, jeans half way off	0.523
14	Wilke-Rodriguez--Man with face in woman's crotch, breast partly exposed	2.114
15	Request Jeans--Couple kissing on bed	0.348
16	Wilke-Rodriguez--Fully-clothed couple on roof top simulating intercourse	1.371
17	Adam's Boots--Woman licking shiny floor, breast more exposed than in #18	0.474
18	Adam's Boots--Woman licking shiny floor	0.220
19	Benetton--Electric chair	-0.179
20	Request Jeans--Model on fence, legs spread, breasts partly exposed	-0.966
21	Wilke-Rodriguez--Couple on roof top in heavy necking situation	1.245
22	Request Jeans--Man who has just finished urinating	-0.109
23	Gap--Female model grabbing crotch	-0.753
24	Benetton--Family gathered around death bed of AIDS patient resembling Christ figure	1.036
25	Benetton--Albino in foreground against African tribe in background	0.269
26	Benetton--Burning car	-1.272
27	Cafe Luxembourg--Naked, overweight women photographed from behind	1.061
28	Camel Lights--Joe Camel	-1.980
29	Kool Cigarettes--Clothed model, standing with legs apart	-2.128
30	Banana Republic--Two men with hands around each other's neck and chest	0.567
31	Cafe Tabac--Two women kissing passionately	1.148
32	Trojan Condoms--Male model surfing	-1.830
33	Integrated--Muscular man holding well-built woman	-1.241
34	Gyne-Moistrin--Classic painting of nude model painted from behind	-0.836
35	K-Y Jelly--Silhouette of naked woman	-0.592
36	CK--Clothed female wearing tight jeans and black spandex top	0.676
37	CK--Clothed female wearing tight tank top	-0.975
38	CK--Half-clothed male model wearing only underwear and sleeveless top	0.638
39	CK--Poster. Young male in underpants, open shirt, laying on floor	1.206
40	CK--Poster. Three pictures: two females model and one male	0.897

A study of the underrepresentation of women in advertising agency creative departments.

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A study of the underrepresentation of women in advertising agency creative departments.

Abstract

A survey conducted by the authors indicates that although women make up 60% of account service departments, they remain vastly underrepresented in creative departments. Interviews were conducted to determine if there were aspects of the job or the creative culture that might account for this. A number of factors were identified. The two with the greatest impact were the conflict between professional and family roles and the sexism found in certain aspects of the culture.

A study of the underrepresentation of women in advertising agency creative departments.

The women's movement is almost 30 years old and yet, as Pirto (1991) and Eccles (1985) have observed, creative fields are still largely a man's world. Women are not only underrepresented in a majority of high-status professions, but also in such creative areas as music, visual arts, theater and film.

The question is why. It's one scholars have been asking for decades and clearly no consensus has been reached. In an effort to find explanations, they've investigated the social and economic forces which discriminate against women. Such investigations are highly persuasive and have shown that women not only continue to receive less pay (Danzig and Wells, 1993; Gaines, 1994; and Miller,1993) but that the work of women fine artists is often taken less seriously by reviewers (Harris, 1989). Such discrimination could clearly discourage women from pursuing creative endeavors including a career in advertising.

Researchers have also attempted to account for women's underrepresentation in creative areas by (1) identifying physical and psychological differences between men and women; (2) investigating the impact of gender roles and stereotypes on intergroup processes; and (3) examining the differences in the ways men and women are socialized and how those differences influence both behavior and career choice.

The attempt to identify physical and psychological differences

In order to provide a better understanding of the educational and occupational patterns of gifted males and females, in 1921 Terman, for example, began a longitudinal study of 1,450 gifted boys and girls seven to fifteen years old. But the data is so bound by its historical period that while it can provide a useful perspective on the present, it's not especially helpful in explaining the present.

Somewhat more recently, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) reviewed the literature relating gender to a large number of behaviors and concluded that there were only four areas in which female-male differences were well established: aggression, spatial-ability, verbal ability and quantitative ability. If Maccoby and Jacklin were correct, these differences could be helpful in suggesting possible reasons for the differences in the numbers of men and women in creative fields. But as Lips (1988) has observed, recent studies using meta-analysis have either outright challenged or heavily qualified the differences cited by Maccoby and Jacklin. The differences, if they are present at all, would not seem large enough to explain why women are so underrepresented in creative fields.

Nonetheless, researchers continue to attempt to measure differences between men and women in order to explain women's underrepresentation in creative fields. Because empathy could be an important creative asset, its presence in men and women has been carefully examined. Stereotypes would suggest that women are more nurturing and empathetic than men. But as Eisenberg and Lennon (1983) have demonstrated, the evidence does not support the stereotype. Gender differences are most in evidence when it's obvious that empathy is being measured. Since empathy is a stereotypically female trait, not surprisingly men and women differ in how empathetic they wish to appear to others.

The one area of empathy where researchers consistently seem to find higher levels for women than men is in the sensitivity to nonverbal cues (Abra and Valentine-French, 1991; Eisenberg and Lennon, 1983; and Hall, 1978). But as Snodgrass (1985) has suggested, these differences probably aren't intrinsic but instead are explained by differences in status and roles. Not only does the traditional maternal role give women more practice in interpreting nonverbal cues, but their lower status makes such sensitivity especially important, since those with lower status have to develop such sensitivity simply as a matter of survival. Still, if women feel that they are especially aware of nonverbal cues, such awareness might have some bearing on career direction.

Measuring competitveness

Creative enterprises are highly competitive. So men and women have constantly been compared as to their competitiveness. As Lips (1988) has noted, gender stereotypes would suggest that boys are more competitive than girls and some research supports the stereotypes. An early study by Miller and Pyke (1973) suggested than females behave less competitively than males in some experimental game situations and a large-scale survey of elementary and high school students found cooperative attitudes higher among girls and competitive attitudes higher among boys (Ahlgren and Johnson, 1979). But a study by Alghren four years later suggested the issue was more complex. Attitudes towards competition continued to change and develop until senior high at which point cooperation was shown to be completely positive for both sexes though women linked it more closely with their sense of self worth. Competitiveness had also become positive for both sexes though women did retain some negative associations with it. This led Lips (1988) as well as Abra and Valentine-French (1991) to conclude that girls may find themselves more uneasy than boys in achievement situations that stress competition at the expense of cooperation while in those situations where cooperation is the requisite for success, girls will feel they have the advantage.

Significantly, Griffin-Pierson (1988), has found such conclusions less than helpful, because by adopting a male definition of competition they are almost sure to find women wanting. Instead, she suggests it's more fruitful to study women's competitive behavior for what it is, instead of trying to fit their behavior into constructs based on the behavior of men. Griffin-Pierson suggests, in addition to interpersonal competitiveness which is defined as the desire to do better than others, there is goal competitiveness which is defined as the desire to excel and be the best one can be. When defined this way, women are seen to compete differently from men but are not judged to be less competitive. The point is well taken. But as Abra and Valentine-French (1991) have observed, in creative enterprises, whether it's a piano competition, fighting for gallery space or the desire to make a discovery before someone else, the competition is highly interpersonal. That, they argue, may lead some women to avoid creative enterprises.

The impact of gender roles and the socialization process

Griffin-Pierson's (1988) position, however, makes clear the problem raised by such comparisons of men and women. They are almost always based on male-typed activities and so inevitably lead to the question "why aren't women achieving at the same level as men." Instead, as Eccles (1985) has convincingly argued, a more fruitful question is "why do creative women and men choose particular areas for achievement." Asking that question legitimizes the choices both make. Eccles suggests such choices are guided by (a) one's expectations for success, (b) the relationship between the perceived choices and one's core values and (c) the individual's gender schema and process of socialization.

A woman's expectation of success in a creative field can certainly be affected by her awareness of whether other women have been successful in it. As Agnes de Mille (1958) has noted, "put a gifted child at the keyboard, train her, exhort her six hours a day but let it be born in her that there never has been in recorded music a first-rate female composer and you may get results but they won't be Beethoven." Put another way, role models may make women aware of novel options and options not generally associated with their gender. So, for example, the women whose creative careers were followed by Cangelosi and Schaefer (1991) reported that mentors were crucial to the choices they made and to the development of their creative potential.

Both the socialization process and assimilation of the culturally defined gender role schema can also have a critical impact on career decisions. As Block (1984) has observed, boys are generally encouraged to explore far reaches and be independent while girls are often closely supervised and given few chances to master the environment or take risks. And her position is confirmed by that of a variety of other researchers (Levin et. al., 1988; Sorentino et. al, 1992; and Verma and Sharma, 1990) So it might follow that women would prefer careers which call for fewer risks than the creative arena. Of course, as Eccles (1985) and Luchins and Luchins (1980).have suggested, for example, the impact of such gender role assimilation can be reduced through the influence of such social agents as parents and teachers.

Conflict between family and professional roles

Finally, whether the conflict between family roles and professional roles actually explains why there are so few women artists as Pirto argues, certainly this tension influences both career decisions and careers. Eccles (1985) suggests that if success in one's gender role is of central importance, then activities that fulfill that role will have high value and those that hamper it will have low value. But the matter is not nearly so simple. Certainly, gender roles and social pressures encourage women to retain the primary responsibility for the family even if they work. Not only do many career women find satisfaction in that responsibility but there is some evidence to suggest that women prefer to have more varied responsibilities than men (Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1983).

But that very enjoyment of a multifaceted and varied life means that many women also place high value on their careers. Conflict is inevitable. In fact, numerous studies of dual career couples with children, show that women experience more conflict between work and home than do their male partners (Duxbury and Higgins, 1991, Greenglass et. al, 1988, Greenhaus, 1989, and Wiersma and Van Den Berg, 1991). There is some evidence to suggest that this conflict may be even stronger among women pursuing creative careers. Piirto (1991) cites Foley's unpublished dissertation which reported the findings of his study of 15 producing artists/mothers the majority of whom experienced intense conflict between their roles as mothers and their roles as artists. As one mother/artist said, "having a family has hindered my development as an artist, because being constantly on duty prevented me from sustaining any creative thought" (see also Cangelosi and Schaeffer, 1991 and Ochse, 1991).

Examinations of women in advertising

While studies have examined the underrepresentation of women in the fine arts and a few other creative professions, little attention has been paid to women in advertising. In fact, the only extensive research is a general survey conducted in 1993 by the Advertising Women of New York (AWNY) which generated responses from 1,233 women and 710 men in advertising, broadcasting and publishing. The survey examined career experiences in terms of job satisfaction, salaries, gender discrimination, family issues and the "glass ceiling." While the survey found that both men and women enjoyed their jobs, 65% of the women respondents found that the "old boys" network and a sexist cultural climate continued to inhibit progress for women, particularly in ad agencies. This climate was not only reflected in attitudes but in a salary gap and glass ceiling. Subsequent salary surveys by both *Advertising Age* (December 2, 1996) and *Adweek* (June 17, 1996) have continued to reflect this salary gap though nothing so wide as that reported in the AWNY survey.

Furthermore, the recent *Advertising Age* salary survey of 203 agencies also reported data on the number of men and women in selected positions in both creative (e.g., creative director, copy chief) and account service (senior account executive and account executive). In account service, 57% of those in the positions surveyed were women, while in creative 35% were women. *Advertising Age* made no attempt to explain why women would be in the majority in one department but vastly underrepresented in the other.

Advertising Age's survey reported on those in selected positions. It's also important to learn whether the magazine's findings are representative of the creative and account service departments as a whole. But it's equally important to understand why, despite their growing numbers in the advertising industry, women may still be as underrepresented in agency creative departments as they are in other creative professions. Such underrepresentation could result from women choosing not to enter creative or from their leaving creative careers. This study was designed to determine if there are aspects of the job or the culture that might encourage women to leave creative careers. Four questions are addressed.

1. What are the ratios of men to women in the creative and account service departments?

2. Does the conflict between work and family encourage women to give up full time careers in the creative department?

3. Were there female role models who either attracted women to creative work or helped them chart their careers?

4. Are there aspects of the creative culture that might discourage women from staying in the creative department?

Methodology

To gain an indication of the ratio of men to women in both account service and creative, 18 advertising agencies were surveyed. Agencies were asked to indicate the total number of men and women employed in both account service and creative excluding support staff. In selecting agencies three size classifications were used: those with billings exceeding $500 million, those with billings between $150 and $500 million and those with billings of less than $150 million. Five large, eight mid-sized and five "small" shops were surveyed. Because agencies are reluctant to provide information about the number of men and women they employ, the authors selected agencies where they had contacts. So within each size category the sample is one of convenience.

Nonetheless, the agencies surveyed are equally distributed among the Eastern, Southeastern, Midwestern and Western regions of the country. Furthermore, the five agencies billing over $500 million are among the ten largest agencies in the United States according to the most recent *Advertising Age* rankings. Most importantly, the mid-sized and small agencies all have strong creative reputations and have had an average of six ads per shop featured in both the 1995 and 1996 One Show Advertising Awards Annuals.

Moreover, the One Show awards annuals from the past three years were used as a second way to gain an indication of the number of men and women in creative. Gender was determined from the names of the winning art directors and writers. If the gender were unclear from the name, the person was counted as female.

To better understand the survey results, 16 in-depth interviews were conducted via telephone with men and women who currently work or have worked in either creative, account service or the human resource departments of the agencies surveyed. The interviewees had an average of 16 years experience. The researchers interviewed 11 women creatives. Five of those currently work for an advertising agency and six no longer work for an agency full-time. To provide perspective on their experiences, interviews were also conducted with one male creative director, one male director of account services, two female account supervisors and a female director of human resources.

The researchers followed an interview schedule, but also encouraged informants to discuss emerging topics related to gender issues and careers in creative. The procedure is described by McCracken in *The Long Interview* (1988). Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes and were taped and transcribed.

Researchers analyzed the transcripts for emerging patterns or themes related to the research questions. Verbatim quotations best illustrating these themes were then selected.

Findings

1. What are the ratios of men to women in account service and creative?
The survey indicates that men far out number women in the creative department but women predominate in account service (complete results are found in Appendix 2). While the percentage of men in creative ranged from as few as 47% to as high as 78%, the average was 65%. In fact, only one of the agencies surveyed employs more women in creative than men and it was one of the smallest agencies surveyed.

The percentage of women in account service ran from as low as 20% to as high as 81% but the average was 57%. Four of the agencies surveyed (two mid-sized and two small shops) employed more men than women in account service. Not surprisingly, they were also among those employing the highest number of men in creative.

The five largest agencies in the survey are also among the ten largest agencies in the United States according to the most recent *Advertising Age* ranking of agencies by billings. Four of these agencies employ considerably more men in creative and more women in account service than the survey average. The other large agency surveyed has far more women than the average in both account service (72%) and creative (48%). Significantly, that agency is headed by a CEO who is known to have made a commitment to hire more women.

The One Show awards annuals were also dominated by men. In fact, over the last three years 80% of the winning writers and art directors have been men. It's assumed that men and women are equally talented. So the disproportionate number of male winners suggests, among other things, that women are vastly underrepresented in agency creative departments.

2. Does the conflict between work and family encourage women to give up full time agency creative careers?

The interviewees certainly suggest that women in creative feel a significant conflict between work and home. That conflict is intensified because, as in other fields, women in creative continue to take most of the responsibility for raising their children As one woman who is the executive creative director at a large midwestern agency said, "I experience the conflict between work and home on a daily basis and I have to resolve it everyday." It's a conflict, she added, that men don't experience in the same way. "For most men here their wives don't work outside the home. Women who are in this business, their husbands tend to have successful careers and so there is that tension." A senior art director at a southeastern agency who no longer works full time but whose husband continues as a full time agency creative also noted that "if you want to raise your children decently you can't work full time in the creative department."

The interviewees also indicated that the conflict between work and home is far more severe for women in creative than in other departments. The head of human resources at a mid-sized Manhattan shop, for example, said that while all advertising people work hard, "it's far worse in the creative department. The hours are brutal and many of the creatives are here every solitary weekend." An account group manager for a mid-sized southeastern agency emphasized the same point but added that in addition to working far later than many account people, creatives also "have to travel for extended periods of time, staying out on shoots for weeks at a time where account people may have to be away for a day or two max." That kind of travel, she said, means that women in creative often have to choose between work and family in a way that account people don't.

Not surprisingly, these same issues were reinforced by the women in the creative departments. As the midwestern executive creative director said "the hours are more extreme than on the account side. You're not just fulfilling things on a check-off list. Just because you've devoted a certain number of hours to the project doesn't mean that you've reached epiphany so you just have to keep going." A senior art director who left her agency job at a southeastern shop to work part time said, "in the creative department unlike any other department in this business, you travel for as much as a month or more at a time. And that's very difficult if you are trying to raise three young children."

The conflict seems to encourage women to abandon successful full time creative careers. A creative director at a mid-sized southeastern shop told of losing his two top female art directors who left the agency in order to focus on their families. The female Director of Creative Services at a mid-sized Manhattan shop pointed out that while many of the 27 women in the creative department are married, only two have children. That agency's Director of Human Resources added that she had tried to resolve the problem by exploring options like flex time but said that the nature of the business made such options almost impossible to implement. Others talked of friends who had tried to reduce the pressure by going to work for small agencies where the job could be "more 9 to 5" or of giving up hard won titles and power in order to try and reduce the workload. Even then it's not easy. The senior art director at a southeastern agency admitted that " even though I'm now part time I'm still juggling big time. There are lots of days when I say I just can't do this."

3. Were there female role models who either attracted women to the creative side of the business or helped them chart their careers?

Both the junior and senior creative women had not found women to serve as role models. Because most of the senior women were entering the business in the late 1970s and early 1980s, if they found role models, they were men. While the men, they said, had often been helpful, they nonetheless admitted it would have been nice to have had a woman to model themselves after. A creative supervisor at a mid-sized agency in the midwest noted that "if I had known a woman in this position and had respected her, it would have made a big difference to me. I would have known more about the position and that it was more of a possibility." A management supervisor on the west coast suggested that at her agency that "If you went looking for role models in creative all you're going to see is men. So you basically assume that there is no place a woman could succeed within the company in the creative department." A writer at a small west coast agency complained that while she had encountered senior women in creative, they had not become role models. "They all behaved the way the guys did" she said. They were just in your face and all over your work. And it was kind of sad because it said that women can't be themselves and be successful."

But the experience of the executive creative director in the midwest suggests that women who choose not to adopt a "male model" can have a real impact on others and the business. She said that although she had been in advertising for 23 years, she found her first female role model only a few years ago. That experience helped shape her own approach to reviewing creative work and reinforced her belief that as a creative director she could take a more supportive approach than that used by most males.

4. Are there aspects of the creative culture that might discourage women from staying in the creative department?

Interviewees suggested that certain aspects of the culture found in creative departments could prove difficult for women.

A. Talent is not enough. You also have to be one of the guys.

The respondents pointed out that in certain respects the creative department is a meritocracy. What matters is the quality of the work. But as a senior art director in New York with over 30 years experience who left her agency to form her own consulting firm underlined "it's not enough to be talented. You have to be buddies and friends with who you're working with." A senior art director on the west coast noted that "I have to work hard to be one of the boys. You know curse and swear and make hidden jokes about sex and farting and belching and all of the things my creative directors think are funny." A senior art director who left her southeastern agency to teach agreed, adding "because it's such a men's club in the creative department, I think you have to have the kind of personality that blends into that group. I think that men, because they are in more serious positions, are not going to hire a woman they don't think is going to fit in with the guys." She went on to tell how at her former agency a male writer who was planning to get married had asked his female art director to be his 'best man.' And she got a tux and a black skirt and was his best man. So I think that plays back a little bit about fitting in with the guys." If women aren't seen as one of the guys, the interviewees suggested, they won't get hired or if they do, they won't last.

B. You have to appear tough.

Because women are seeking to fit into male dominated creative departments, most of the interviewees emphasized the need to be "tough cookies," to be "strong," to be a "pistol," "to really play hardball" and "to have a hard shell." Part of being strong, they say, means being able to take criticism of work that is "your heart and soul."

That criticism is often delivered by men in a way that many of the women we interviewed found "assaultive," "unsupportive," "hair raising," and "intentionally humiliating." A senior west coast art director noted that such criticism is difficult for anybody. But, she added, "it seems to be more difficult for women probably because we've been culturally discouraged from being in situations that are more competitive." A senior art director at a mid-sized New York shop who left it to open her own consulting business admitted "I don't think I have the capacity to get knocked down a lot of times without taking it personally and I think women tend to do that more than men." A midwest creative supervisor noted that when "you're getting beaten up every day, you have to believe in yourself enough to come back again. And that's something boys just learn to do growing up in a way that many women don't."

The criticism that creatives face also is said to be a unique part of their job. For one thing, it's highly personal. As a creative supervisor in the midwest said "it's gutsy to show someone the work you've done and to put yourself out there. It's not the same as what an AE faces." A senior art director who now works part-time at a southeastern agency added "in account service your soul isn't put on the line every day." What's more, as the executive creative director from a large midwestern agency noted, "unlike other departments, in creative you are subjected to scrutiny and review at every single moment." She went on to wonder if a person has "a strong bent to please the way many women do," if such constant and intense criticism might not prove discouraging.

C. You have to be willing to fight aggressively for your work.

The women we interviewed repeatedly pointed out that it's not enough to have a good idea. The idea must also be defended both within the agency and in front of the client. For the most part, the interviewees felt that while they were quite use to strongly defending their work that many women might be uncomfortable with that kind of fighting. As the female senior art director who now teaches said, "it takes a strong ego to be willing to fight for your idea and convince senior level people that your ideas really have merit. I think men are apt to be a little stronger in that department." A writer at a small west coast agency added that "men fight tooth and nail for their ideas. And women have a lot of pride in their ideas, too. But I think we're socialized to be a lot more flexible and understanding. So we go 'well maybe they're right and maybe my idea is not so good after all.' And that kind of makes me sad because I'd like to think that women would be just as tenacious."

A senior art director from New York who now has her own consulting firm pointed out that it's not just that women aren't raised to fight but that they aren't allowed to fight. "I mean if a woman behaved the way so many men do, she'd be out on her ass." A senior writer from Boston who left her agency to free lance underlines that point. "I know it's been said before, but if you're a guy and you push for your ideas, you're aggressive. But if you're a woman and you try to do it, you're a bitch. Women in this business are punished for doing the exact same thing that men get rewarded for. That's it. That's the big kernel of truth."

A female account group manager at a mid-sized southeastern agency agreed that creative is a "tough, dog eat dog world" and that's a world, she said, that women "tend to be less comfortable in." She went on to say that by contrast, account management involves "more of a service environment where there's a need to nurture clients and establish relationships." It's a world she felt "women are more comfortable with." A female west coast management supervisor also believed that "women may feel a greater affinity towards account management and the relationship skills that are needed there than they do towards the kind of aggressive traits needed on the creative side." Even women creatives agreed that account work is a more "natural fit" for women than the creative department because as the female writer for a small west coast agency said "instead of always fighting, you're helping make the client happy. And making others comfortable is unfortunately what society generally encourages women to do."

D. You have to learn to thrive in a culture many find sexist.

None of those we spoke with indicated that their agencies discriminated against women in hiring. In fact, most said their agencies wanted to hire women. Two of the women creatives we interviewed also said their male colleagues were open minded and that they saw little evidence of an "old boys club."

But most of the interviewees suggested that aspects of creative culture can be sexist. This sexism may be reflected in the kind of work creatives appreciate. A female writer from Los Angeles told how her male creative director criticized her writing "as being too soft and sounding like a woman wrote it." A male creative director at a mid-sized southeastern shop noted that even though he looks to hire and promote women, his department is heavily male and he attributed that partly to the fact that the kind of work that he admires has a "traditional male sensibility." And both the male creative director and the female midwestern executive creative director noted that the kind of work rewarded in advertising awards shows has a "smart-alecky tone which is men's natural bent." The executive creative director went on to note that the warmer work done by many women is not valued in national creative contests. And that could well cause them to "become discouraged about their prospects."

But the sexism, a number of respondents said, is often far more overt. Some types of accounts are still generally viewed as male bastions. The senior art director who left the agency business to teach told of showing her book to a creative director who said "your work is really, really good, but we only have masculine accounts here." The idea, she said, that the agency felt that "a woman couldn't figure out how to sell cars or chain saws was dumbfounding." A senior free lance writer in Boston told of working on a beer in the 1980's and not being allowed to go to client meetings "because the agency didn't want the client to know that there was a woman working on their business." While the interviewees did agree that such attitudes are changing and that more women are working on traditionally male accounts, nonetheless they felt there was still a problem. The women we spoke with also found what one called a "tragic irony" in the fact that while women are often excluded from "masculine accounts," the advertising for many women's products is frequently created by men.

Finally, a number of shops were said to hire women only to bury them on dull accounts. The senior free lance writer from Boston said in her experience "guys get to work on the best pieces of business. Some top agencies hire talented women and give them really crummy assignments. Then when the woman gets frustrated and leaves after a year or year and a half, the men go 'I don't know why she wanted to leave. You know how women are.'" The senior west coast art director said "where 70% of the work women were given was drudgery work and 30% reward work, the men if they got a bad assignment people apologized to them for it. It was just assumed that women would do the dull housekeeping assignments.

Without a high percentage of good assignments, it's very difficult for women to do the kind of work that leads to advancement. A New York art director who left her agency to form her own consulting firm said she left because "I felt I really deserved to be promoted to vice president. That year they promoted - I don't even remember the numbers because I just wanted to kind of forget about it and get on with my life - but they promoted nine men and no women. I sat down and I counted how many male and female vice presidents there were and it was 19 to three. So I realized I had to go."

Other women we interviewed said they left their full time jobs because they were tired of having to prove themselves in a way they felt male creatives didn't. The writer in Los Angeles said she decided after leaving her full time agency job to form her own company rather than seek another agency position "because I knew I was as good if not better than a lot of the guys and I just thought I'm not going to play by their rules anymore." And the free lance writer in Boston decided to leave her full time agency job after asking herself "who the hell are these guys anyway. Why should I have to prove anything to them when they don't have to prove anything to me." As a free lancer she feels she gets the respect from the male creatives that she had to fight for while working full time. "As a free lancer you're OK because you don't intimidate them. You're there to help them. Not compete with them."

Discussion and Conclusions

While some have suggested that women may be less effective than men in interpersonal competitions, the vast majority of women in this study felt perfectly capable of competing with the men in their departments. None of the women we interviewed indicated that they had even considered leaving the business because of its competitive nature. While many did agree that the constant criticism was difficult, again none suggested it was enough to drive them from the business. Rather, this study suggests that both sexism and the conflict between work and home may encourage women to abandon full time agency work. That may be one reason why women are underrepresented in creative departments.

As the studies cited earlier have shown, most working women experience a more severe conflict between professional and family roles than do men. That seems to be true in advertising as well. Moreover, the extended travel required of copywriters and art directors puts female creatives under particular pressure and, according to almost every interviewee, makes it far more difficult for women to have full time careers in creative than in account service. In fact, a large number of the interviewees had either left the creative department to devote more time to their families or they talked about women who had.

So long as women continue to be the primary caretakers of their children, this conflict will not disappear. That creative work requires extended travel is certainly a problem. But the excuse that solutions like flex time don't work because of the nature of the business should be rejected or at least not allowed to stop the search for solutions. The problem clearly deserves more in-depth consideration than most agencies seem to have given it. But it may take strong, sensitive leadership at agencies before the issue is given the attention required to establish a new paradigm.

But an even more serious problem is raised by the sexism found in many creative departments. The executive creative director of a large midwestern agency said that even though she is in charge of the department, when she walks into a room full of men she still feels "viscerally frightened." The west coast senior art director said that on walking into a creative meeting where men are in the majority she feels "defensive and on edge." Clearly, having to thrive in a world where they are the minority and often feel "alien," places women under tremendous pressure. But that's something most of the interviewees said they had come to expect from having grown up in "a man's world."

What concerned many of them far more was their sense that they did not receive their fair share of "good" assignments and had to fight harder than the men for those they did get. The problem is all the more pernicious, many interviewees said, because it's so subtle that it's hard to detect and even harder to prove. Although subtle, such sexism can have a chilling effect on a career by denying women the creative opportunities that can lead to industry wide recognition and advancement. In fact, a number of the interviewees pointed to the scarcity of women in the One Show awards annuals not only as evidence that women are underrepresented in creative departments but also as proof that the best assignments don't go to women. This issue had proven so discouraging to a number of those interviewed that they said it had either caused them to leave full time agency work or to strongly consider doing so.

Correcting the problem depends in part on women being in visible positions of authority with the power to assign and evaluate work. But that in turn requires the agency to be able to attract, retain and promote women creatives in sufficient numbers that they can help change the culture. And that may be slow to happen under current conditions unless agency leadership becomes heavily involved. Significantly, the one large agency we surveyed where women make up almost half of the creative department is headed by a CEO who made a commitment to hire more women and to create a more positive working environment. That may suggest that sexism can be rooted out and an agency's culture changed if it leaders are committed to that change.

This study is not without its limitations. Obviously, a relatively small set of agencies was surveyed. The conclusion that men far outnumber women in agency creative departments parallels that of the *Advertising Age* study of those in more senior positions at over 200 agencies. That may give this study's findings additional weight. But a broader survey is needed to provide more definitive information. The insights offered by those interviewed for this study are valuable. But it would also be helpful to interview more women creatives in order to determine if the experiences of the informants in this study are typical. Finally, the underrepresentation of women in creative departments probably results not only from the number of women leaving creative careers but also from the number choosing such a career in the first place. So it would be very useful to survey advertising students to determine the number of men and women pursuing careers in creative and account service and to examine their reasons for doing so.

Nevertheless, this study focuses attention on a matter that has received far too little consideration. That focus may lead not only to further discussion of the issues raised here but also to corrective action.

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Appendix 1. Description of Informants

Executive creative director at a large midwestern agency. She has 23 years of experience. Her first job was writing copy for a catalog company. She gradually worked her way up by working on numerous packaged goods accounts at major agencies in several cities in the midwest.

Creative supervisor at a mid-sized midwestern agency. She has 16 years of experience. Before taking her current position she had worked at three other agencies in the midwest.

Senior art director who left her southeastern agency to work part time. She has 19 years of experience and has also worked full time at a variety of midwestern agencies. Her work appears frequently in the major awards annuals.

Free lance writer in Boston. She has 16 years of experience and worked for major agencies in New York for nine years before going free lance. As a free lance writer, she has done national work for some of the largest agencies in New York City and Chicago.

Senior art director at a mid-sized southeastern agency who left her agency to teach. She has 15 years of agency experience and has won over 100 top creative awards.

Senior art director at a mid-sized New York shop who left the agency to open her own consulting business. She has 25 years of experience. Her consulting firm specializes in work directed towards women.

Senior art director in New York with 30 years of experience who left her agency to form her own consulting firm. She is an African-American woman who has held top positions at several well known creative shops in Manhattan.

Director of Creative Services for a mid-sized New York agency. She has nine years of experience.

Writer from Los Angeles. She has nine years of experience. She began her career writing retail copy and then worked for a major international agency. She left that agency to open her own consulting firm and to teach part time.

Senior west coast art director. She has ten years of experience and worked for east coast and the midwest agencies before taking her current job four years ago at a highly respected west coast creative shop.

Writer at a west coast agency. She has seven years of experience. She worked for an east coast shop before moving west. She was an in-house writer for a well known clothing manufacturer before taking her present position at an agency known for its high tech work.

Creative Director at a mid-sized southeastern agency. He has 19 years of experience. His work has won hundreds of national awards.

Human Resources Director at a mid-sized New York City agency. She has 14 years of experience and has worked at several major manhattan agencies.

Management supervisor at a west coast agency. She has 18 years of experience and has worked for large, highly respected agencies in both New York city and the midwest.

Group account manager at a mid-sized southeastern agency. She has 13 years of experience.

Director of account services at a mid-sized New York City agency. He has 15 years of experience.

Appendix 2 Gender Survey Results

Agency/Size		Creative		Account		
Big ($500mm+		M	F	M	F	Region
1	#	59	27	55	83	East
	%	69	31	40	60	
2	#	30	14	9	38	East
	%	68	32	19	81	
3	#	34	15	18	49	Midwest
	%	69	31	29	71	
4	#	48	17	41	65	Midwest
	%	74	26	39	61	
5	#	100	94	42	110	Midwest
	%	52	48	28	72	
Mid ($150-500mm)						
6	#	27	21	18	27	East
	%	56	44	40	60	
7	#	13	7	12	19	East
	%	65	35	39	61	
8	#	15	6	21	35	West
	%	71	29	38	62	
9	#	29	8	23	16	Midwest
	%	78	22	59	41	
10	#	38	17	20	67	Southeast
	%	69	31	23	77	
11	#	39	14	42	28	West
	%	74	26	60	40	
12	#	17	6	10	22	Midwest
	%	74	26	31	69	
13	#	23	5	19	22	West
	%	82	18	46	54	
Small(-$150mm)						
14	#	4	4	6	9	West
	%	50	50	40	60	
15	#	9	6	12	3	East
	%	60	40	80	20	
16	#	10	6	6	10	West
	%	63	37	37	63	
17	#	10	4	10	6	Midwest
	%	71	29	63	37	
18	#	9	10	10	9	West
	%	47	53	53	47	

Preparing Campaigns Students for Groupwork

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Preparing Campaigns Students for Groupwork

Abstract

Most educators who teach the advertising campaigns course require students to work as groups. A review of the cooperative learning and group dynamics literatures suggests that unless students are systematically prepared for groupwork, instructional goals will be difficult to achieve. This paper describes how pre-training activities in group skills can be adapted to prepare students for the demands of groupwork, provides a theoretical and pedagogical framework for their use, and reports the results of an assessment of the outcomes.

Preparing Campaigns Students for Groupwork

The advertising campaigns course—like many other summary, capstone courses—seeks to integrate students' learning from other courses in a degree program, while preparing them for the "real world" requirement of applying technical skills as members of work groups.

Yet within the time-frame of a single semester, these goals will be difficult to achieve if students lack interpersonal and small group skills at the outset of the course. By systematically preparing students for the challenges and self-direction required of groupwork, instructors can improve the prospects for accomplishing their instructional goals.

This paper examines the problems that can be expected to occur if students lack interpersonal and small group skills when they begin an integrative, group-project course, such as advertising campaigns. The paper reviews the importance of groupwork principles and use of cooperative learning methods for advertising campaigns, as well as similar capstone courses; and describes how pre-training in effective group behaviors and skills can be adapted for use as instructional strategies. The paper also reports the results of an evaluation of student reactions and opinions toward such pre-training activities, and their associations with positive group behaviors and performance, following their use in an advertising campaigns course.

Lack of Groupwork Skills Leads to Problems

There has been no empirical research examining the extent to which students are prepared to effectively participate in groupwork when they reach the final stages of professional study. However, writers on the topic suggest that the introduction of group and cooperative learning approaches, without careful planning and student preparation, can lead to problems for both pedagogical and theoretical reasons.

Pedagogically, working in groups involves different classroom norms. As examples, traditional classroom norms include students doing and paying attention to their own work and not asking for help or advice from other students (Cohen, 1994; Glasser, 1988). In groupwork, however, "students are responsible not only for their own behavior but for group behavior and for the product of group efforts" (Cohen, p. 40).

While educators have recently promoted the use of groups, teams, and cooperative learning principles, they have also warned of the difficulties of implementation (Joliffe, 1991). As Michaelsen observes, "A major problem in the use of permanent classroom groups is providing mechanisms to ensure that groups function effectively" (1983, p. 14).

Problems caused by the lack of student preparation to participate effectively in groupwork become especially acute when a group project is the principal instructional strategy used in a course. Group projects require a great deal more self-direction and autonomy on the part of students, and, as Jacques notes, "projects are likely to create all manner of anxieties in both tutor and students as to direction, progress and personal competence" (1984, pp. 108-109).

Additional difficulties and anxieties for students are likely to occur when a group project represents a capstone experience in a professionally-oriented program, and students are required to solve open-ended problems, work closely with others in a professional relationship, and work for the first time on real problems (Michaelsen & Obenshain, 1983). Jacques suggests that "it may in many circumstances be too much to ask a group of students to handle both the uncertainties of project work and the problems of working in a team concurrently" (1984, p. 110).

Handling the uncertainties of groupwork, combined with the anxieties caused by the capstone experience, may explain why one of the few studies examining the ad campaigns course focused on managing conflict in group projects (Parente, 1995). Similarly, as Parente and Applegate point out, "There is a small body of research in the business literature examining the problems that are likely to arise in group projects, such as an advertising campaign" (1995, p. 3). Likewise, in their analysis (Parente & Applegate) of open-ended data gathered in a survey of advertising campaigns course instructors, approximately one-third of the problems instructors mentioned are related to what could be viewed as faulty group process and poor group performance.

Theoretically, theorists and researchers in group dynamics have provided extensive evidence that group formation and development is a lengthy process that occurs in phases (Caple, 1978; Shaw, 1981; Tuckman, 1965). As Jacques writes, "A new group coming together for the first time may have to devote much of its early energy to getting acquainted with one another and with the group's task, as well as establishing ways of working together" (1984, p. 21). Thus, if students lack groupwork skills at the outset of the course, a substantial portion of the semester could be over before the groups begin to perform effectively and accomplish their goals.

In his examination of the need for higher-order skills (e.g., problem solving, critical thinking, self-motivation, and cooperation), Grow (1991) notes that the subset of skills that lead to self-directed learning are critically important in journalism and mass communication professions. Relating this issue to teaching, Grow writes that good teaching can be defined by two characteristics: "(1) the teacher matches the learner's level of self-direction, and (2) the teacher prepares students for greater self-direction" (p. 60).

Furthermore, Grow's (1991) Staged Self-Directed Learning Model suggests that, if students are low in self-direction (i.e., dependent on the instructor for what and how to learn), but the teacher adopts a teaching style of facilitation or delegation, there will be a mismatch. This mismatch will result in resentment toward the instructor for "underteaching" by students who "do not possess the skills necessary for self-directed learning" (Grow, p. 61). Thus, and following Grow's theoretical reasoning, an instructor should systematically prepare students for the level of self-direction required by groupwork.

Importance of Groupwork Skills

The development of small group and teamwork skills should be emphasized in the advertising campaigns course, as well as similar courses, for several reasons. As Miles (1981) notes, "Knowing the how of good group functioning is important because small groups are the most pervasive and crucial operating units of any society" (p. xi). Similarly,

> Contemporary life places a premium on the ability of people to get on with each other, to be able to handle interpersonal problems rather than to avoid them, and to do so constructively and creatively. Nowhere is it more possible to practice these qualities than in small-group work where learning is not subject to purely academic limitations. (Jacques, 1984, pp. 12-13)

Miles (1981) suggests that many people simply lack the necessary skills to participate in good groupwork. Similarly, Cohen (1994) observes that "Neither children nor adults necessarily know how to work successfully in the group setting. American culture, in particular, provides very few opportunities to learn group skills" (p. 3).

Other writers point to the workplace, where the use of teams has become firmly entrenched over the last 15 years. Consequently, Jolliffe (1991) suggests that managers look for extracurricular activities and internships on students' resumes, partly because these "are often the only educational experiences that assure minimal competence for a team-oriented workplace" (p. 16).

Professional Programs and Groupwork Competence.

Michaelsen and Obenshain (1983), in their description of the use of learning groups in medical and business education, argue that the "ability to relate to others in the context of a professional role" (p. 41) is an important attribute of professional competence. In addition, they suggest that students may experience substantial anxiety in the final, integrative phase of professional study when they "participate in situations—integrative courses, simulations, internships—in which they are expected to pull the pieces of their education together in order to fill a professional role" (p. 51). Preparing students for groupwork, and the use of small-group teaching methods, can help students confront at least "one source of anxiety—working with others—present in every new situation that they enter in the context of a professional role" (Michaelsen & Obenshain, p. 53).

Groupwork and Cooperative Learning

Perhaps the greatest value of developing students' abilities to perform in groups is that it enables the instructor to obtain the full benefits of small-group and cooperative learning methods. That these methods lead to increased student achievement has been demonstrated quite convincingly by researchers, who have amassed an impressively broad and high-quality literature on student achievement. Summarizing a substantial portion of this research, Slavin's (1995) analysis of ninety studies, comparing a wide variety of cooperative learning methods, produced results that "significantly favored cooperative learning" (p. 21).

Among the general pedagogical benefits of groupwork and cooperative learning methods are more active student participation in the learning process (Jolliffe, 1991), increased "time on task" (Cohen, 1994; Slavin, 1995), improved self-esteem (Glasser, 1988; Slavin), social and interpersonal skill development (Cohen; Glasser), and valuable socialization for the workplace (Jolliffe; Michaelsen & Obenshain, 1983). While small-group methods can also be used effectively to attain basic instructional objectives, such as knowledge comprehension and retention, the literature indicates that the greatest benefits of groupwork are tapped when the focus is on higher-level learning tasks and objectives (Slavin; Jolliffe). These tasks and objectives include understanding abstract concepts, creative problem solving, and the development of higher order thinking skills (Cohen).

As a capstone, integrative course, advertising campaigns should address higher level learning tasks and objectives, and provide a context within which the greatest benefits of groupwork can be gained. Group and cooperative learning methods allow students to interact in a way that facilitates their understanding of abstract concepts. Students capable of good groupwork not only develop superior and creative solutions to problems, but can learn the process of creative problem solving as well. Finally, as Cohen (1994) notes, "group interaction is not only the most effective but the most practical way of achieving" higher order thinking goals (p. 15).

In sum, it seems likely that students frequently reach the advertising campaigns course lacking the interpersonal and groupwork skills necessary to gain the benefits of group and cooperative learning methods, and for the accomplishment of instructional goals. Therefore, an important element of course design should be the systematic preparation of students to advance to the higher levels of self-direction that will be required of them to perform effectively in their groups, and later in their careers.

As Cohen (1994) succinctly points out: "The first step in introducing groupwork to the classroom is to prepare students for cooperative work situations. It is a great mistake to assume that children (or adults) know how to work with each other in a constructive collegial fashion" (p. 39). The section that follows describes the goals of pre-training in groupwork and cooperative learning, and how activities and exercises from the group training literature were adapted to accomplish these goals in an advertising campaigns course taught by the author.

Goals of Pre-Training and Activities

Preparing students for groupwork requires the identification and development of specific group process skills and norms they will need to perform effectively in their groups (Cohen, 1994). These skills are best taught using training activities, exercises and games, that are often referred to as "skillbuilders" (Cohen, p. 41). Critical in the choice and use of such activities is that their objectives are clearly defined, that the skills to be developed are specific and focused (e.g., cooperative behaviors and skills), that students are given the opportunity to practice the new skills, and that the training activity is designed "for the explicit purpose of bringing about change in its members" (Miles, 1981, p. 33).

Among the appropriate goals, norms, and skills for activities designed to help students involved in long-term group projects are training in cooperative behaviors and skills (Cohen, 1994; Jacques, 1984); the development of team spirit and cohesiveness (Slavin, 1995); group goal setting (Napier & Gershenfeld, 1981); creative problem solving; and development of the group members' abilities to analyze the group process occurring in their own groups (Napier & Gershenfeld).

Illustrating the Importance of Groupwork and Cooperative Skills

Cohen (1994) observes that "Students need to understand your purposes in introducing small groups and why groupwork skills are important" (p. 41). In the advertising campaigns course, students may understand that groupwork skills are important because they will likely work in groups throughout their careers. However, they often lack an appreciation for how effective groupwork skills and good group process can lead to superior performance.

To illustrate the value of good groupwork, an activity such as the NASA training activity (Jacques, 1981) can be used to dramatically demonstrate how and why good group process can lead to superior performance, and provide the first opportunity for students to learn and practice cooperative skills. In this activity, students individually prioritize 15 items needed for survival on the surface of the Moon. They then do the same task working as a group, after being instructed to follow the guidelines for using consensus as a decision making approach (e.g., "view differences of opinion as helpful rather than as a hindrance in decision-making"). Students then calculate their own individual scores, the average of their individual scores within their groups, and each group's score. When these are compared with NASA's expert ranking of the items, students will almost always discover that the group outperforms both any individual in the group, and the average of the individuals' work on the task. A discussion follows the activity, with a focus on why and how good group process, such as group decision making by consensus, contributes to superior performance, and the implications for future groupwork in the course.

Developing Team Spirit and Cohesiveness

If students are going to be working together in their groups on a semester-long project, it is helpful to conduct a pre-training activity immediately after assigning students to teams that will develop cohesiveness and give members additional practice in cooperative skills. These goals can be accomplished using two related activities: "Space Ship" (Cohen, 1994) and "Team Name" (Slavin, 1995).

The activities begin with a brief orientation regarding the kinds of group behaviors that lead to effective performance. Student behaviors that are especially important for stimulating "high-level discourse" (Cohen, 1994, p. 46) are the following: (a) asking for others' opinions, (b) listening, (c) reflecting on what has been said, (d) being concise, (e) giving reasons for ideas, (f) allowing everyone to contribute, (g) pulling ideas together, and (h) finding out if the group is ready to make a decision.

After an orientation to the activities, an observer is chosen from each group and instructed to identify the use of these behaviors as students work on the first discussion task, deciding which seven persons, from a list of 11, will be selected to become the crew of a space ship leaving a doomed planet Earth. The observer can reward the group members responsible for the use of each behavior with a small item, such as popcorn kernels or paper clips. After completing the task, the instructor leads a discussion, focusing on the use of the behaviors and the extent to which they helped the students reach consensus and make a decision. The rewards are helpful for identifying students who were responsible for contributing above average numbers of positive discussion behaviors. Students are then given additional practice in using the high-level discourse skills by being asked to work as a group and develop a name for their group (i.e., advertising agencies). By creating a group identity for themselves, and immediately spending more time learning about each other, the development of group cohesion can be stimulated early in the groups' histories.

Group Goal Setting

Any work group will be more effective in its performance if its members understand the characteristics of effective goals and cooperative methods for identifying them. Researchers in group dynamics have provided evidence that when a group's task is clearly identified (i.e., goal clarity is high), group members will be more attracted to the task, show less nontask-directed tension, be more involved with the group, and members will conform more to group expectations (Shaw, 1981). Similarly, research has shown that when groups establish goals cooperatively, the goals are more likely to be homogeneous (i.e., members will hold the same goals for the group [Shaw, p. 378]), and groups are more likely to use a problem-solving method of arriving at goals (Napier & Gershenfeld, 1981). Homogeneous goals established cooperatively have similar beneficial effects on group process and outcomes: "Cooperative groups, in a task requiring collaborative activity, show more positive responses to each other, are more favorable in their perceptions, are more involved in the task, and have greater satisfaction with the task" (Napier & Gershenfeld, p. 211).

The importance of clarity in setting group goals can be illustrated using a training activity suggested by Napier and Gershenfeld (1981). In this activity, groups are first given a vague and abstract task to accomplish, with observers reporting on disruptive and ineffective behaviors that occur as the groups struggle to accomplish the task. In the second stage of the activity, groups are then given a very clear and concrete task to perform, with observers again recording behaviors in the groups. The instructor then leads a discussion focusing on the importance of clarity in setting group goals, and how the lack of clarity can lead to negative, disruptive behaviors by group members, and other difficulties.

Students can be given practice in cooperative goal setting and action planning using a pre-training activity suggested by Newstrom and Scannell (1980). In this activity, groups are given 10 minutes to develop a collective mental image of what their group situations would preferably be like at some point in the future (e.g., immediately prior to when the final projects are due). They are then asked to develop an action plan listing the items directly or indirectly under their control that must be accomplished to achieve their goal. Discussion then focuses on whether the groups' members reached consensus on the goal and plans, the feasibility of their plans, factors preventing success, and how often they will review progress toward the goal.

Creative Problem Solving

From identifying marketing problems and opportunities to developing advertising and promotions strategies and tactics, much of a group's work in advertising campaign planning requires solving problems and making decisions. As the semester progresses, students can benefit substantially from group activities that enable them to identify and practice effective group methods for creative problem solving.

Napier and Gershenfeld (1981) note that there are many pitfalls for groups in the process of problem solving, including "the volatility created by a roomful of different personalities with all of their individual needs, biases, and personal agendas" (p. 360). On the other hand, if it's done well, group problem-solving sessions can produce creativity, high levels of personal motivation, commitment to the outcome, and a sense of cohesion among the group's members.

Although there are many aspects of creative problem solving in a group context that are important, three are especially useful for students to understand during the early stages of a long-term group project. The first is that problems are often not as complex as they initially appear. Second, students should understand that the generation of creative alternatives for solving problems is often constrained when individuals establish premature boundary conditions caused by a "predisposition toward the problem itself" (Napier & Gershenfeld, 1981, p. 363). Third, students can benefit by knowing that the diversity of a heterogeneous group can provide the different perspectives needed to overcome these boundaries.

The first two issues can be illustrated using two activities suggested by Newstrom and Scannell (1980). In the first, the instructor draws the symbol "IX" on the board and asks the groups to make a 6 (six) out of the symbol with the use of only one line. Most students will assume the answer has something to do with the Roman numeral for nine, and, expecting the problem to be more difficult, will be surprised to see that the problem can be solved by simply adding an "S" and making the word "SIX." This activity also illustrates the value of looking at problems from a different perspective.

The value of overcoming predispositions toward problems, and looking at them from alternative perspectives, can be illustrated using the "Golf Ball in the Bag" activity (Newstrom & Scannell, 1980). In this activity, students are given the problem of a golfer, who is in danger of receiving a penalty stroke because his or her ball has rolled into a paper bag. A common predisposition toward the problem is to generate ideas to get the ball out of the bag. A reverse perspective toward the problem (i.e., getting the bag away from the ball) can lead to the generation of creative alternatives, such as setting the bag on fire. The instructor can then lead a discussion focusing on how overcoming predispositions toward the nature of a problem can lead to creative solutions for problems students are facing in the development of their group projects.

Finally, leading the student groups through a brainstorming idea generation session can illustrate to students that when a group of diverse members is allowed to freely generate and share alternatives for solving problems, that the quantity and quality of the solutions will generally surpass those of a single individual working on the same problem. An added benefit of having students solve a problem using brainstorming is that it provides them with practice in a problem-solving technique that will likely be useful as they work on their projects.

Monitoring Group Process and Bridging Activities

As a final and summative pre-training activity, it can be helpful to provide groups with the tools they need to identify, analyze and solve faulty process occurring in their groups; provide additional review and practice of the skills, behaviors, and norms learned during earlier activities; and to link these to substantives tasks and problems they are facing in their work.

As Jacques (1984) notes, "prior training has to be followed up with procedures for monitoring the unfolding progress of the group if it is to be of enduring benefit" (Jacques, p. 110). Similarly, Miles describes the use of "process breaks," setting aside times during a meeting for the participants to analyze and discuss characteristics of group process that may be blocking the group from accomplishing the purposes of the meeting (e.g., what might be causing confusion or conflict in the group). To effectively use process breaks, group members should understand the following: (a) work on the group's actual task (e.g., making a decision) stops during a process break, and only issues associated with group process are discussed; (b) any group member may ask for a process break to discuss what is happening in the group; and (c) it should be clear at the start of a process break what the specific issues to be discussed are. Training students in the use of process breaks is especially valuable because the breaks can simultaneously lead to progress in the group, additional learning about group process and faulty aspects of it, and provide them with a tool they can use to solve group process problems occurring in their groups throughout the remainder of the semester.

In addition, as Miles (1981) observes, "in designing training activities, some thought needs to be given to the planning of 'bridging activities.' Such activities are aimed at helping to link the things group members are learning to the everyday demands of their jobs" (p. 98). He also suggests that bridging activities are especially valuable as the pre-training nears its end.

For any group, a final pre-training activity can involve a decision-making activity combined with "process breaks" (Miles 1981, p. 193). The three goals above—enabling students to monitor and diagnose faulty group process, providing them with additional review and practice of group skills, and bridging the pre-training to their actual work—can be accomplished by adapting an activity recommended by Napier and Gershenfeld, "Decision-making with Critique" (1981, p. 192). In this activity, groups are given a substantive decision-making task they are facing in their work, following a review of the norms, skills, and behaviors learned earlier in the course, and a discussion on how to use process breaks.

In the advertising campaigns course, an appropriate decision-making, discussion task that is closely tied to the groups' actual work is to have them work their way through Russell Colley's (1961) "Defining Advertising Goals for Measured Advertising Results" (DAGMAR) model. This approach is especially valuable as a bridging activity if the pre-training activities have been timed to conclude at about the same time students have completed their situation analysis research and are preparing marketing and communications objectives and strategies. When final decisions have been reached regarding the most important advertising goals for their campaigns, groups take a final process break to analyze the entire process of reaching the decision. This element of the activity provides students with final practice in the use of process breaks and how they can use the technique to analyze group process as they meet throughout the remainder of the project.

Results of Evaluation

A self-administered questionnaire was developed to assess student opinions of the value of the pre-training activities (one item for each activity) and several group process outcomes, including problem-solving, discussion quality, member participation, cohesiveness and teamwork, and goal-setting. The items are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 about here

All items were measured using a seven-point Likert-type response, ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7). The questionnaire was administered at the end of the semester. Although the number of subjects is very small (15 students), the results of the statistical analysis provide evidence that appropriately addresses the following two questions: (a) Did students find the pre-training activities to be helpful during the semester?; and (b) Are there relationships between the students' beliefs that the activities were helpful and positive outcomes they experienced within their project groups?

As the results presented in Table 2 indicate, students responded very positively to the pre-training activities conducted during the semester, and, specifically, to the value of the activities. Mean scores of agreement on all the pre-training activity measures range from a low of 5.00 to a high of 5.53 (on a scale of 1-7, with 7 indicating "strongly agree").

Table 2 about here

Results of the correlational analysis (see Table 3) also suggest some perceived value of the pre-training activities on the part of the students, and some interesting associations with positive outcomes in the project groups. The pre-training activities involving creative group problem-solving, for instance, are moderately to strongly correlated with several of the positive criterion variables, including statistically significant correlations with group participation, clear goal definition, the groups' ability to apply a problem-solving approach to their decision making, and teamwork. While not statistically significant, there are also correlations of moderate strength between the students' perceived value of the goal-setting pre-training activities and clear goal definition, problem-solving, and teamwork. It is also important to note that student perceptions of the value of all the pre-training activities, with the exception of the ability to identify causes of problems, are moderately associated with students perceptions that they had few problems in their groups attributable to a lack of teamwork.

Table 3 about here

The contributions of the pre-training activities were also assessed by comparing the author's student instructor evaluations on several key indicators with those from several previous semesters in which he had taught the same course. These data must be considered anecdotal, since the author revamped the curriculum for the course during the same semester and added other new instructional strategies, in addition to the group pre-training activities. However, it is equally apparent that, with the exception of the Fall 1994 semester, the improvement in the student instructor evaluations is quite dramatic.

Table 4 about here

Finally, students were asked to address the pre-training activities in an open-ended format on the course evaluations. The following comments were culled from the evaluations:

"They taught us how to work as a team and accomplish tasks by a deadline."

"The group exercises were very helpful."

"I love the teamwork."

"The independence of the groups was a good experience."

Conclusions

The purpose of this paper is not to suggest that instructors of advertising campaigns courses should use groupwork as an instructional strategy in their courses. Most campaigns course instructors assign one or two group projects in the course (Parente & Applegate, 1995), as, no doubt, do many instructors of similar courses in public relations, marketing, and business administration.

Likewise, the purpose of this paper is not to suggest that preparing students for groupwork is the most important aspect of managing an integrative, groupwork experience such as advertising campaigns. Issues of at least equivalent importance include establishing evaluation criteria for the groupwork itself (Joliffe, 1991), assigning students to groups (Feichtner & Davis, 1984; Jacques, 1984; Joliffe; Michaelsen, 1983; Slavin, 1995), dealing with the "free-rider effect" (Joliffe; Slavin, 1995), accountability and evaluation (Jolliffe; Michaelsen; Williams, Beard, & Rymer, 1991), and other process issues such as leadership and the management of conflict (Helms & Haynes, 1990; Parente, 1995; Robbins, 1983).

The purpose of this paper is, however, to suggest that the groupwork element of the advertising campaigns course—as with other summary, capstone courses—is far too important to leave to chance. As the earlier discussion suggests, the probability that students will enter the course lacking group skills is quite high. When this is combined with the uncertainty and anxiety caused by group projects and the challenges of a capstone experience, it seems clear that there is much to be gained by systematically preparing students to perform more effectively in their groups.

As a final conclusion, two additional issues should be addressed. First, instructors should be aware of the ongoing process in their student groups—for example, by closely observing the groups during the final activity described above—and be prepared, if time permits, to adapt other training activities designed to help students with emerging problems. Second, future research should examine, using more rigorous methods, the contributions training in groupwork can make to the accomplishment of instructional goals in courses such as advertising campaigns.

Table 1

Questionnaire Items

Pre-Training Activity Evaluation Items

1. The activities raised my awareness of how important my groupwork skills will be in my future career success.
2. I learned a lot about the kinds of behaviors that need to occur in a group in order for it to be effective.
3. I now have a better understanding of the characteristics of effective group goals.
4. I learned a lot about how to identify and use effective methods for creative problem solving in a group.
5. I am more capable now of recognizing the causes of problems in a group.

Outcomes Measures

6. The problem-solving process that occurred in our group was coordinated.
7. The overall quality of my group's work together was, on the average, excellent.
8. We had good participation by everyone in our group during discussions.
9. During our discussions, we generally arrived at goals that gave us a clear direction for how to accomplish them.
10. We were often able to apply a problem-solving approach to setting our goals.
11. Overall, I would say that my group functioned very effectively.
12. We had few problems in our group that were related to a lack of teamwork.

Table 2

Pre-Training Activity Items: Means and Standard Deviations

Item	*M*	*SD*
1. The activities raised my awareness of how important my groupwork skills will be in my future career success.	5.13	1.30
2. I learned a lot about the kinds of behaviors that need to occur in a group in order for it to be effective.	5.47	1.19
3. I now have a better understanding of the characteristics of effective group goals	5.33	.90
4. I learned a lot about how to identify and use effective methods for creative problem solving in a group.	5.00	1.13
5. I am more capable now of recognizing the causes of problems in a group.	5.53	.92

Note: *n* = 15.

Table 3

Correlations among Pre-Training Activity Items and Group Outcomes Items

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Career Success	---	.93**	.75**	.68**	.65**	.40	.13	.23	.26	.34	.20	.56*
2. Behaviors Needed		---	.85**	.69**	.74**	.28	.07	.17	.21	.27	.09	.46
3. Group Goals			---	.84**	.81**	.28	.24	.40	.51	.46	.30	.51
4. Creative Problem-Solving				---	.62*	.49	.46	.60*	.67*	.62*	.51	.61*
5. Causes of Probs.					---	.17	.22	.30	.26	.25	.31	.36
6. Coordinated Problem-Solving						---	.60*	.40	.22	.14	.42	.14
7. Quality Work							---	.77**	.73**	.57*	.81**	.39
8. Good Participation								---	.85**	.83**	.93**	.73**
9. Clear Goals									---	.90**	.83**	.69**
10. Apply Problem-Solving										--	.76**	.80**
11. Functioned Effectively											--	.73**
12. Teamwork												---

Note. $n = 15$. All significance tests are two-tailed. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 4

Author's Student Instructor Evaluations in Advertising Campaigns

Evaluation Variable	Spr. 94	Fall 94	Spr. 95	Fall 95	Fall 96
Amount Student Learned	4.1	4.6	3.6	3.5	4.1
Extent Instructor Contributed to Learning	2.8	3.9	2.8	3.1	4.1
Workload	4.8	4.4	4.5	4.0	4.6
Instructor's Encouragement of Critical Thinking	3.6	4.5	3.6	3.5	4.2
Instructor's Teaching Effectiveness	3.2	4.2	3.3	3.0	4.1
Instructor's Management of the Course	3.6	4.4	3.5	3.3	4.1
Overall Quality of Course	3.3	4.3	3.3	3.1	4.1

Note. measured on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 = "far below average" and 5 = "far above average."

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